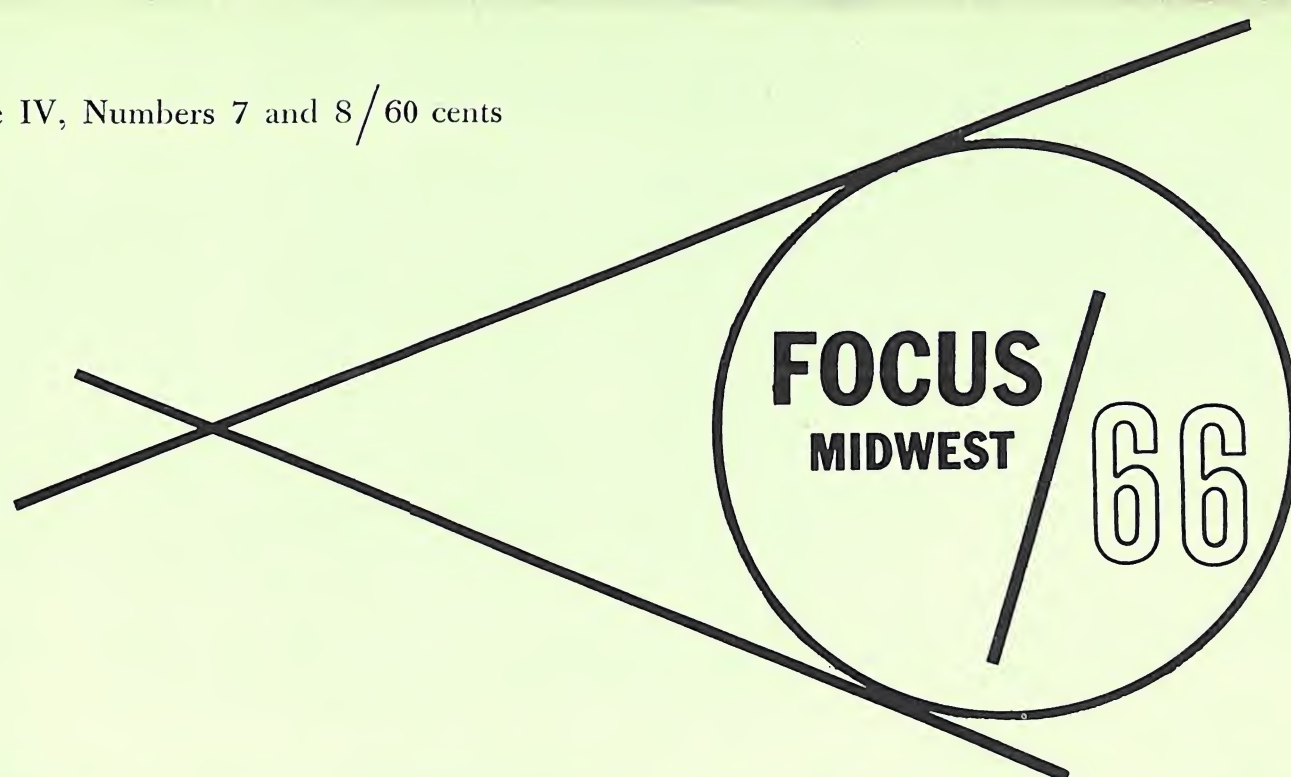


Volume IV, Numbers 7 and 8 / 60 cents



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## ***The Dirty Business of School Magazines***

Herbert I. Schiller

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***On the Wrong Civil Rights Track  
—in the City of Chicago*** / Albert A. Raby

***—In the Suburbs of Chicago*** / Milton Rakove

---

## ***The Tenuous Base of the St. Louis Economy***

William H. Kester

---

***A Reapportionment Proposal*** / Walter S. G. Kohn

***The Day the Communist Came to Town*** / John S. Garrity

***Rockwell Charms Northwestern*** / Lewis Z. Koch

*Announcing: National Essay Invitation On The Triple Revolution.*



# Out Of Focus

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

It was Donald Grant of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and not Eric Sevareid who first revealed that Washington said no to Hanoi's offer to meet in Burma. In a feature headed "Geneva Talks on Cambodia Seen as Way to Viet Nam Peace," Grant reported on April 17, 1965 about the Rangoon meeting. The same information was quoted later by Richard Dudman also of the P.-D. Sevareid's article was verified by the U.S. State Department and he was able to quote Stevenson as the source. Grant could not quote his source — a high UN official — by name.

K. M. Piper, Motorola vice president in charge of human relations (right! a former FBI man), believes that crippling the FEPC will create a good business climate in Illinois. At least that's the implication of a letter recommending contributions to the Associated Employers of Illinois, which, according to Piper, "led the way in the Senate, stopping the unlawful activities of the FEPC and getting amendments passed for the improvement of the Act."

The *Chicago Daily Defender* reports, the "FBI, despite widespread violence in the South, was only able to get 14 convictions in five years out of a total of 11,328 investigations between the years 1960-1964." J. Edgar Hoover claims 96 per cent convictions on all cases — except civil rights.

The *Kansas City Star* reported that a group of women in Abilene, Kansas, mimeographed the complete welfare list of Dickinson County and distributed copies free of charge. Kansas newspapers are prohibited from publishing the list of welfare recipients, but the records are open for public inspection.

Pregnant brides will be denied church weddings at Van Dyke Baptist Church in Warren, Michigan. The Rev. Sorrel said he would marry them in his office, his home, or their homes. It was not announced how the minister would determine early pregnancy. Nothing was said about brides who could afford abortions, nor those using birth control.

The national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars held in Chicago, preferred a weaker resolution chastening American youth for their "irresponsible conduct" and "disregard of authority." The tougher resolution demanded that anti-Viet Nam student demonstrators be drafted. However, if such students would be sent to Viet Nam, they would ultimately become eligible to join the V.F.W. . . . the weaker resolution was adopted.

A lead editorial in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, "Red Upsurge in Domingo," was based exclusively on the findings of the American Security Council, a Chicago-based rightist organization boasting a blacklist of 1,000,000. The Council's leaders include many who endorse the Birchite philosophy.

While America is the richest country in the world and while it should be exporting doctors, actually "17 per cent of our doctors come from abroad."

Dr. George Arnold at a meeting of the  
St. Louis Consumer Federation

Rep. Durward G. Hall (R., Mo.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) blocked the showing of a film on the late Adlai E. Stevenson during a Chicago Memorial program which was attended by 4,200 persons. The unanimous endorsement by both houses of Congress was required to show the USIA documentary.

In the *Christian Crusade* (July 1965, p. 18) Dr. Billy Hargis advertises a 10-item package of "vital statistics, valuable research, and alarming facts." Of these, six have to do with "curse words and filthy language;" "a dance by two completely nude (his italic) dancers;" "clergymen in San Francisco defend homosexuals;" "a dance for male perverts;" "a spirited seminar" for homosexual recognition and "integration" of San Francisco churches; and a "homosexual organization" in the nation's capitol.

A statement over St. Louis Channel 11 told its listeners that "the welfare of your child is also our concern," and that bad guys may be seen — but they never, never win. After more assurances — with soft background music — the speaker concluded his message by announcing next day's movie: *The Horrors of the Brain That Wouldn't Die*.

#### PHOTO CREDITS

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LITERARY EDITOR/Harry T. Moore

POETRY and FICTION EDITOR/Webster Schott

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS/Harry Barnard, Tilghman R. Cloud, Irving Dillard, Bernard Eismann, Robert Farnsworth, Robert G. Hoyt, Hubert H. Humphrey, Abner J. Mikva, Harry Mark Petrakis, Dan Saults, Paul Simon, Harriet Woods.

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## Letters

F/M: Please do not send me your damned magazine any more.

R. Hugh Uhlmann, president  
Standard Milling Co.  
Kansas City

### Press Swallows Motorola Hoax

F/M: Congratulations for your fine article on the FEPC situation in Illinois. As a person who was exposed intimately to the situation, I believe your summary and analysis is accurate and complete. Thanks from a citizen interested in objective reporting.

H. W. Stein, Jr., treasurer  
Bell & Howell Company

F/M: I'm pleased to be able to claim that we weren't making the same mistakes that other newspapers and the AP did. In fact, I wrote the AP a rather nasty letter suggesting that they check up on the facts themselves; after that, there were no more bad mistakes. It seems incredible that no one took the time to read the FEPC's findings.

I myself was set straight on the case by reading the findings which the Motorola Company itself reproduced and sent out in the hopes that it would arouse indignation. The summary of the findings, which Motorola helpfully included, had misrepresentations, however.

... As the FEPC pointed out, Motorola never let Myart get beyond the first step of the hiring process. He may not have been qualified, but they never found out.

Donald D. Breed,  
Editor, Editorial Page  
Freeport (Ill.) Journal-Standard

F/M: Congratulations on the Motorola story.

Prof. Albert Rees  
University of Chicago

F/M: Enjoyed Mike Royko's column — if such a regrettable conflict is enjoyable.

James H. Roche  
Chicago, Illinois

(NOTE: Mr. Roche refers to the

Chicago Daily News Report exposing Motorola's alleged attempt to buy up all copies of F/M. See editorial.)

### Are Job Tests Reliable?

F/M: I thought the article on job testing was especially good and have circulated this to other members of our staff for their information.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.  
Executive Director  
National Urban League, Inc.

F/M: . . . Your article (Are Job Tests Reliable?) is both interesting and timely. Considerable controversy has developed over the validity and fairness of standard tests used to measure the aptitudes or intelligence of certain groups of people. The experience and thinking of an employer on this problem, presented in your article, are certainly significant.

I hope the article will receive wide attention among employers and those professionally engaged in the development and administration of tests. I believe that what you have said in the article should present a challenge to both employers and psychologists to re-examine the propriety of using tests which have been standardized for the white population in testing Negroes or other disadvantaged groups.

We have been giving considerable attention to this problem in the Bureau, and we are now engaged in research to find solutions for it. As the situation now stands, I think that your suggestion that employers in considering Negroes should look for "other things" is very sound. This suggestion should be widely adopted by employers.

Robert C. Goodwin  
Administrator, U.S. Bureau of  
Employment Security

F/M: . . . Your article provides some information which tends to confirm tentative conclusions reached by other researchers.

Sam M. Lambert  
National Education Ass'n.  
Washington, D.C.

F/M: I found your article (Are Job Tests Reliable?) a fascinating one and I hope that it has some impact.

Will Maslow  
American Jewish Congress  
New York

F/M: I have just had the occasion to read your article, "Are Job Tests Reliable?" which appeared in FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. IV, No. 1-2) and find it most significant. I also want to commend you for your insights and suggestions to prospective employers in assessing the employability of Negro job applicants. I am taking the liberty of referring this item to Robert Bushell, director of the Chicago Merit Employment Committee, with the suggestion that he reproduce this item and distribute same to Chicago employers.

Walter P. Zand  
Area Director, Chicago  
American Jewish Committee

### Memorial To

Adlai E. Stevenson

F/M: I am sure you have received many compliments on your Memorial Issue, dedicated to that great American and distinguished statesman, Adlai Stevenson. You and your staff have compiled a most fitting tribute.

Richard J. Daley  
Mayor, Chicago

F/M: It is a beautiful tribute to Adlai. A fine piece of journalism.

Harry Golden, Editor  
The Carolina Israelite

F/M: You did a great job and we are delighted and grateful.

Adlai E. Stevenson III  
Chicago

F/M: . . . It is done with dignity and sensitivity, and I am very glad to have it.

Paul H. Douglas  
U. S. Senator

F/M: . . . fitting tribute to Adlai Stevenson.

M. Philbrick  
(for Secretary Dean Rusk)

F/M: I have kept this copy for my files as I think it is the most complete profile and one of the best yet done on Ambassador Stevenson.

Jacob M. Arvey  
Chicago

F/M: Your memorial issue on Governor Stevenson was a very beautiful and well-done issue.

Barbara O'Connor

Director of Field Services

Ill. Comm. on Human Relations

### *American Culture?*

F/M: I am filled with pity for J. R. Ritchie (Letters, Vol. IV, No. 1-2) and the others who are unable to open their minds more than the slightest crack to the universe of mind play usually called "Art." There is no point in *trying* to become cultured. You have missed the point entirely. You wanted to be "in" culturally. But no one is "in" who thinks he can be in, for there is no in or out. You simply relax and enjoy. If you cannot enjoy, you are not a lesser person. You will only keep from yourself the richness of potential experience, you will lose an encounter with part of the universe in which you live.

You claim to enjoy things American. You say you are American and proud of the fact, as though this should direct your taste. So, I ask you, have you captured the pathos of blind Gary Davis or John Lee Hooker, persons touching the roots of American Culture? You like Jazz, you say. But what about the latest recordings of Jimmy Giuffre or Ornette Coleman? You say you enjoy folk music, but does that include Cajun music or field recordings of songs of the Appalachian mountains? Maybe you like things not because they are American, but because they fit within the set framework of your mind.

It could be you found Bach, Horowitz, etc. too much because you thought listening to "the classics," as you call them, will improve you. It won't. Purcell, Beethoven, Stravinsky, and Ussachevsky are available to be enjoyed and experienced, as are The Beatles, Norman Rockwell, Political Conventions, and the Moon. When you fail to broaden your acceptance, you have lessened your freedom. You may continue to allow your mind to cringe in its small corner while mine rots in every part of the world it can reach.

Oh, yes. Don't start with those sloshy romantics. Right now I am swinging with Vivaldi. His Flute Concerto in A Minor, a recording with Rampal and the Sarr Radio Orchestra. Wow! Go to a record store and audition that. Tell me if it doesn't wow even you.

Jeremy Lansman

Seattle, Washington

### *The Aged: A Medical Blind Spot*

F/M: "The Aged: A Medical Blind Spot" by Dr. H. T. Blumenthal, FOCUS/Midwest Vol 4, No. 1-2, pointed out obvious "blind spots" in Dr. Blumenthal's knowledge of medical education and medical research. From recent experience as a student at Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis and as an intern at King County Hospital in Seattle, I can assure you the medical profession and particularly the educators are very much aware of the distinctiveness of geriatric problems. True, medical schools do not have courses in geriatrics per se, but, as any medical student or intern will tell you, most of the cases one deals with in training are geriatric problems. Blumenthal's complaint of lack of medical research in diseases of the aged hardly seems justified when one reads the medical literature. Arteriosclerosis, cerebrovascular accidents, cancer, diabetes, and arthritis, which the author lists as being the primary diseases of our elder citizens, are being extensively studied in all major medical centers. In fact the research involving these very fields is so voluminous that medical library systems are seriously overtaxed.

The problems of keeping the home-stead and finding a purpose in the "great vacation" of retirement must be worked out by sociologists and psychologists. Good luck to you Dr. H. T. Blumenthal.

L. Philip Carter, M.D.

Otis AFB, Mass.

### *Reply by Dr. Blumenthal:*

F/M: It comes as something of a surprise, if not a disappointment, that after some 25 years in Pathology as a teacher at several university medical schools and as an investigator in cancer, vascular disease, endocrinology, autoimmunity, diabetes, and yes, aging, I should be mistaken for a sociologist or psychologist by a fellow alumnus of Washington University, School of Medicine.

However, Dr. Carter's reply concerning the teaching of geriatrics in medical schools comes as no real surprise. This is the standard response of medical school educators. What Dr. Carter and these educators do not yet understand is that all of the diseases listed in his letter may have a common denominator in that they all derive in greater or lesser degree, from a common biological phenomenon related to aging. This is not the medium in which to discuss the

scientific validity of this contention; it is sufficient to point out here the lack of even an awareness of the existence of such a point of view and the evidence supporting it.

It should also be pointed out that the problem of finding medical school departments in which to train graduate students for careers in aging research is a very real and expressed concern of federal agencies (for example the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development). Medical school educators are simply not presently receptive to such programs.

## **Where to Buy FOCUS/Midwest**

### *In Chicago:*

Adela, 1208 Wilson  
Barbara's, 1434 N. Wells  
Beaumart-Butler, 165 N. Canal  
Board of Trade, 141 W. Jackson  
Carlson's Cigar Shop, 400 N. Michigan  
Carson Pirie Scott, State St.  
Center for Contin. Educ., 1307 E. 60th  
C & N.W. Stands: No. 8, No. 10, No. 11, and  
Terminal, 520 W. Madison  
Cosmopolitan Drugs, 754 N. Clark  
Drexler Prairie Shore Drug, 2903 S. Vernon  
Field Bldg. Book Shop, 135 S. LaSalle  
Marshall Field, State St.  
Goldberg & Weinstein, 901 N. State  
Greendoor Book Shop, 1450 E. 57th St.  
Ill. Inst. of Techn., 3200 S. Wabash  
I.I.T., Hermann Hall, 3300 S. Federal  
Kramer, 1400 Lake Shore  
Lake Tower Inn, 600 N. Lake Shore  
LaSalle St. Station, Stands No. 3 & 5, 135  
W. Van Buren  
Main St. Book Store, 642 N. Michigan  
The Merchandise Mart, Stand No. 1  
Modern Book Store, 56 E. Chicago  
North Park Pharmacy, 3310 W. Foster  
Norwell Drugs, 172 North Ave.  
Ostfeld, 343 N. Clark  
Randolph & Michigan Stand  
Post Office News, 37 W. Monroe  
Rabson Drugs, 101 E. Ohio  
Randolph Book Store, 5 W. Randolph  
Reliance Drug, 2 E. Chicago  
Rush & Oak Drug, 1000 N. Rush  
Sheraton-Chicago, 505 N. Michigan  
Sheraton-Blackstone, Michigan & Balboa  
South Shore Pharmacy, 7058 S. Shore  
Tanenbaum Pharmacy, 5500 S. Cornell  
University Book Store, 5802 Ellis  
University Restaurant, 1824 W. Harrison  
Water Tower Inn, 800 N. Michigan  
Woodworth Book Store, 1311 E. 57th  
Many other outlets in the North Shore and  
area also sell FOCUS/Midwest

### *In St. Louis:*

Block Book Co., 288 N. Skinker  
Book Nook, 46 S. Central  
Book Shop, 102 N. Kirkwood  
Burgdorf, 4744 McPherson  
Famous-Barr, 8th & Olive  
Hershenhorn Stand, 8th & Washington  
Komm News, 7822 Forsythe  
Krell News, 8th & Olive  
Lambert Airport Gift Shop  
McKnight Drugs, 928 McKnight  
Park Plaza Drug, 230 N. Kingshighway  
St. Louis University Bookstore, Grand Blvd.  
Scruggs, 10th & Olive  
Sheraton-Jefferson, 1201 Locust  
Three Arts, 6501 Delmar  
Union News Co., 415 St. Charles  
Washington U. Bookstore

### *In Kansas City:*

Ruback News, 7 W 12th St.  
Teds, 221 E 12th

### *In Urbana, Ill.:*

Illinois Union Book Store, U. of Ill.

### *In Cincinnati, O.:*

Mahogany Hall, 1033 St. Gregory

## In The Nude!

THE obscenity trial verdict finding an employee of a St. Louis bookstore guilty of selling "Candy" has the farcical qualities of "Alice in Wonderland." While the jury did not include one person accustomed to reading books, the St. Louis court hampered and restricted the use by the defense of writers, reviewers, teachers, clergymen, and psychiatrists. We trust that the Supreme Court of Missouri or the Supreme Court of the United States will review the prosecution of "Candy" and other similar trials as being out of step with freedom of press and speech.

Not too long ago, Assistant U.S. Attorney Fred M. Wilson, Jr. told the "St. Louis Citizens for Decent Literature Youth Movement" that the book "Candy" is not obscene. He patiently explained,

"Candy" was carefully reviewed by attorneys of this Department who are thoroughly familiar with the federal obscenity laws. Our subsequent decision to decline prosecution was based on many varied considerations. Among these were an evaluation of the work itself in comparison with other publications, the tenor of the literary reviews which the book had received, the substantial degree of public interest as evidenced by sales, and the applicable judicial standards as set forth by the Supreme Court in *Roth v. United States* and more recently in *Jacobellis v. Ohio*.

Crucial to our decision, was an evaluation of whether "Candy" is "utterly without social importance." . . . In this context we noted that the jacket of the hardcover Putnam edition of the book claims the endorsement of Dwight MacDonald, Nelson Algren, James Jones, and other nationally prominent literary figures. The book has also been seriously reviewed in *Newsweek*, the *New York Times Book Review Section*, the *New York Review*, and other literary magazines and supplements. The reviewers, while not uniformly praising "Candy," have generally recognized it as an effective and amusing lampoon of "dirty" books. . . .

It was our judgment that the book "Candy," viewed in the light of relevant judicial decisions, was not a proper subject for federal prosecution.

We are moved to quote columnist Syd Harris of the *Chicago Daily News* to the St. Louis Court and prosecutor. He wrote some time ago: "Can there be any relation between our puritanical and hypocritical laws and the fact that the U.S. has the highest rate of rape and sex crime in the world; while Japan, with 100,000,000 people, has only three or four rape cases a year, and other sex crimes are practically unheard of?"

And in Japan they bathe in the nude!

## Let's Do Away With The AMA

THE National Medical Association kicked off a campaign to integrate the predominantly Negro organization. We were intrigued by this move announced by Dr. Leonidas H. Berry, NMA president and eminent physician.

Why not? Why not face the AMA (and the Realtors, and the many other professional groups clinging to a token integration) with an ultimatum: integrate fully or face competition for your members. Whether they are the burghers of Natchez, Mississippi or the distinguished leaders of the AMA, the pressure on the pocketbook is one they cannot stand.

## EDITORIALS

### Follow-Ups

WHEN we published "Press Swallows Motorola Hoax" (Vol. IV, No. 1-2), we expected loud protestations of innocence. But Motorola outdid our fondest hopes. A "well-dressed man, in his early 30s," as columnist Mike Royko of the *Chicago Daily News* put it, visited every Chicago stand selling FOCUS/Midwest and bought up every copy. Of course, Motorola denies everything. They also denied

CINCAGO DAILY NEWS, Tuesday, Sept. 7, 1968  
Mike Royko

### A Mystery Man Buys Up 1 Issue Of Magazine Here

One day recently a man walked into the Wacker Park Book Store, 1311 E. 47th St., where he bought the magazine and picked up 20 magazines.  
Buying this many magazines was, in itself unusual. More  
"Magazines" are sold in the city than in any other city.

knowing the article or the magazine — two weeks after thousands of copies were circulated in Chicago.

What intrigues us is the young, mysterious man in his early 30s. Who is he? CIA? FBI? Or just an underling in the FEPC — battling labyrinth of Motorola's PR department? We are offering a two-year subscription to anyone who can identify him. And we want to offer a three-year subscription to anyone finding out how the mysterious stranger knew when the magazines would appear. The way we figure it, he must have checked every day for a week or so. The only source in Chicago who knew that the article would appear were the newspapers which received advance copies.

Now, which one do you think told him?

IT is gratifying to report a speedy settlement of the NAACP Boycott against Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (See "Boycott" by Dempsey Travis, Vol. III, No. 8-9). The firm was originally charged with discrimination by the Chicago branch of the NAACP. As a result of a series of conferences, Metropolitan (1) re-affirmed its non-discrimination policy, (2) called upon its mortgage correspondents to implement this policy, (3) agreed to introduce Negro brokers to Metropolitan Life correspondents, where needed, and (4) gave assurances that if and when new correspondents are added it will weigh appointments solely on the basis of merit and potential.

FINALLY, the "Putsch in Mt. Prospect" (editorial Vol. IV, No. 1-2) as we predicted, turned out to be a resounding flop. The abortive Birchite attempt to scuttle the Mt. Prospect — Prospect Heights (Ill.) Human Relations Committee may even have had a wholesome effect. When the constitution was finally adopted, about 200 residents attended, making it among the largest such groups in the Chicago suburban area.

## The New Spirit?

THE East-West Gateway Co-ordinating Council was recently founded in St. Louis. Represented on the Council are three counties in Missouri (St. Louis, Jefferson, and St. Charles), two in Illinois (Madison and Monroe), the City of St. Louis, and East St. Louis. Among the many notables which graced the initial meeting were East St. Louis Mayor Fields, St. Louis Mayor Cervantes, and St. Louis County Supervisor Roos.

A metropolitan planning agency to deal with the many problems of urban and suburban communities is very much needed. We only hope that their future planning will be less alienating than their founding assembly held at the Missouri Athletic Club — or didn't the Mayors and Supervisors know that the MAC is a racist institution which neither hosts nor admits Negroes?

## Welcome, Tuesday

WHEN we first saw the colorful portrayal of Negro cowboys in *Tuesday*, a new monthly newspaper supplement, we were startled. We had never seen a Negro cowboy. Not on television, not in the press, and in no history book. The inadequacy of our mass media, even on such casual subjects as Negro cowboys, stuck out just as much as, say, the "colorless" format of most Society pages.

We salute *Tuesday* now distributed with nine dailies, including the *Chicago Sun-Times*. It is the first integrated, mass circulation effort of its kind in the United States. W. Leonard Evans of Chicago, editor and publisher, has created a slick and highly professional product which can be enjoyed by "the whole family." It is not a reforming and crusading organ but follows the usual pattern of supplements. One may argue that it is concerned too exclusively with the Negro. However, in view of the negligence of all other media in this field, it is a minor drawback.

Newspaper publishers in St. Louis, Kansas City, and other cities should take a good look at this venture. Their readers will appreciate *Tuesday*.

## Why Poetry?

IN this issue we publish the poetry of four more writers, which brings to around thirty the number FOCUS/Midwest has presented during the past three years. James Purdy is the distinguished novelist, playwright, and short story writer who lives in Brooklyn. Constance Urdang is writing in St. Louis. Lewis Turco teaches at Oswego, N.Y., and D. M. Pettinella, translator of the great French surrealist Paul Eluard, lives in New York City.

They represent the range of our ambitions: to publish the best poetry we can find, whether submitted to us or solicited by our editors, from writers of every disposition. This may be the great age in American poetry, as some say. Looking at what we routinely receive for

consideration, it's the great age of junk.

Two of the finest living American poets have appeared in F/M, and more than once: Winfield Townley Scott and William Stafford, both of whose F/M pieces later appeared in their books. One of the last poems written by William Carlos Williams, Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winner, was published here shortly before his death. The first published poems of novelist James T. Farrell appeared here. Paul Engle, Donald Finkel, John Hollander, Edward Field, Ralph Pomeroy, Donald Drummond John Unterecker, important writers all, have published in F/M. The first published poetry by Conrad Knickerbocker, newly appointed daily book critic of the *New York Times*, was in F/M. We brought Knute Skinner, Dave Etter, Lynne Lawner, S. K. Oberbeck, now a critic at Newsweek, and many other gifted newer writers to our readers' attention.

To what purpose? To attempt for a few minutes to alert the sensibilities and rise the possibility of other alternatives. We believe the reading of poetry makes for a fuller life.

Has the cost in effort, time, and money been worth it? To our knowledge not one subscription has been gained; not one letter written in response. Our poetry often seems to drop into a bottomless well.

We have published and will continue to publish poetry because, like men looking at the mountain, we believe something needs to be done about it. Boris Pasternak called poetry "the birth pangs of the new in the world." Giving voice to such birth pangs and other uncommon sounds is what this magazine is all about.

## Who's Kidding Whom?

INVESTIGATORS from the U.S. Health, Education, and Welfare Department are now in Illinois, checking into charges of racial discrimination in Chicago's school system. It can be assumed that Chicago may represent a Northern city test case. Once this situation has been clarified, we recommend that the investigators do not return to Washington but confer with Mr. Hubert Wheeler, Missouri's Commissioner of Education.

Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires that federal aid be withdrawn from any federally assisted operation which discriminates because of race. The major impact of this regulation in the early days has been on the segregated school districts across the South. Missouri still has a few such districts but Mr. Wheeler has recently taken the position that all of the Missouri districts which were segregated are now in complete compliance with the federal law.

Anyone who knows Mr. Wheeler's past willingness to condone outright illegal segregation on the part of Missouri school districts will view his statement with great skepticism. For the past ten years, Mr. Wheeler and the Missouri State Department of Education and Mis-



Missouri school superintendents in the affected areas have taken the public position that Missouri schools were in complete compliance with the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* which held that separate public school facilities for Negroes and whites were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. Anyone who traveled in the Missouri bootheel knew that the schools there were still segregated and that they were in fact so unequal that they were in violation of not only the 1953 Supreme Court decision but of its 1890's predecessor, *Plessey vs. Ferguson*, which, at least, required separate schools to be equal. The State Department of Education and the state government failed to take action to remedy this. Even the Missouri Commission on Human Rights was guilty in its early years of downright foot dragging in its reluctance to enter the bootheel area to grapple with Missouri's most serious segregation problem.

Last month that Commission finally held a public hearing in Kennett, Missouri to examine the firing of five Negro teachers by the Rives School District. The hearing revealed that the Negro school in that district was totally unequal. Alex A. Cooper, one of the complainants who was principal of St. Paul, the former Negro school, testified that he had run the school with hardly any guidance from the superintendent or the school board. He said the school had rotting woodwork, outdoor toilets, only a faucet in the yard to serve as drinking fountain, and received second-hand books discarded by the white children.

The Rives School District now admits that its previous schools were not equal but asks that the public believe it now desires to obey the law unequivocally in the future. Specifically, they claim that the occasion of desegregation has provided them with a magnificent opportunity to fire all their former "inferior" teachers that they had admittedly hired in the Negro school and to hire qualified teachers (coincidentally white) in their place. We understand that numerous other school districts across the bootheel are planning similar actions admitting publicly, as if it were a badge of virtue, that they had previously been guilty of illegal actions in hiring "unqualified" Negro teachers but that they now have "seen the light" and plan to obey the law. We suspect that in fact they have seen not *the light* but *the money* and that they will do no more than they are absolutely forced to do in order to obtain it and avoid having it cut off by the federal government. One must view their claim that the existing teachers were unqualified with some skepticism. At the Rives hearing, for example, it was revealed that most of the whites who were retained were less well trained than the Negroes fired. A Negro track star was replaced as coach by a white who flunked Physical Education. Another white retained had been 139th in a class of 139, and had a lower college average than all five of

the fired Negro teachers. The white superintendent who fired the Negroes admitted writing letters of recommendation for two of them which praised them as outstanding on the very points for which he criticized them at the hearing.

As for the State Department of Education, the outdoor toilets and rotting woodwork could scarcely have been invisible to their regional representative who makes a visit at least once a year and who could have easily reported the discrepancy in facilities to his department had there been any attempt on the part of its Head to obtain obedience to the law. The clear admission by Southeast Missouri school superintendents that they have been violating the law and overtly so for the past ten years in providing inferior teachers and equipment for their students leaves us no alternative than to interpret Hubert Wheeler's statements during those ten years as misrepresentation, at least, and possibly as something considerably worse. The question that now confronts him and the state government is what they plan to do in the next phase.

First, throughout the South, school districts are dreaming up many strategies to evade the impact of federal regulations. Does the State Department of Education and the Missouri Commission on Human Rights have a plan for seeing that this does not occur in Missouri? To stand idly by would not only be illegal it would also be immoral for it would endanger Missouri's innocent school children both white and Negro to having their funds cut off as has already occurred in one district because of discrimination in a "Headstart" program last summer.

We hope that in Missouri qualified teachers will not be dismissed and go elsewhere but rather that the Missouri State Department of Education and the Missouri Commission on Human Rights will immediately devise a program designed to save for the citizens of Missouri the investment in human resources represented by the many Negro teachers still teaching in segregated school districts. In the few cases where the past illegal discriminatory actions on the part of school districts have resulted in the hiring by local school boards of teachers who may in fact be less qualified than their white counterparts, we believe that those school districts and the State Department of Education must share the blame and must take the responsibility toward the possible upgrading of these teachers rather than acquiesce in their wholesale discharge.

As we said above, Mr. Wheeler has witnessed wholesale law violations throughout the past ten years and publicly misrepresented the State of Missouri's compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Now, he admits that all the districts which were violating it in the past (although of course he had always said there never were such violations) are now in compliance and there is now no problem. We wonder who's kidding whom?



Announcing: The National Essay Invitation on the "Triple Revolution"

# WE WILL PUBLISH YOUR ESSAY

**FOCUS/Midwest magazine in cooperation with Teamsters Local #688 (St. Louis) invites the submission of essays:**

- \* evaluating the findings of the "Triple Revolution Report" (see below for offer of free copy); or
- \* analyzing existing and accepted societal values in terms of the revolutions, weaponry, and cybernation suggested in the "Triple Revolution Report"; or
- \* recommending public measures which will overcome threatening economic and social disorders forecast in the "Triple Revolution Report."

## **AWARDS**

One of the manuscripts will be awarded \$1,000; a second, \$500, and all others accepted, \$100.

## **PUBLICATION**

All manuscripts accepted will be published in *FOCUS/Midwest* magazine.

## **DEADLINE**

All entries must be submitted by August 31, 1966 to National Essay Invitation, c/o *FOCUS/Midwest*, P.O. Box 3086, St. Louis, Missouri 63130.

## **JUDGES**

All entries will be judged by independent scholars qualified in the area of this project. Their decision will be final.

## **ELIGIBILITY AND CONDITIONS**

- Persons enrolled in or affiliated with any college or university, particularly faculty and graduate students are invited to submit manuscripts. However, participation is not limited to the academic community. Any interested person may submit an entry.
- a. Manuscripts will become the property of The Sponsors.
  - b. Manuscripts must be original and not have been published previously.
  - c. Manuscripts should be between 2,000 and 7,000 words, typewritten, in triplicate, and double-spaced.
  - d. Exceptions to these rules can be made but must be arranged prior to submission of the manuscript.

## **REGISTRATION**

While it is not mandatory to register before submission of the manuscript, persons considering participation may request a free copy of the Triple Revolution Report by writing to: National Essay Invitation c/o *FOCUS/Midwest*, P.O. Box 3086, St. Louis, Missouri 63130, giving name, full address, school or occupation.

# THE DIRTY BUSINESS OF SCHOOL MAGAZINES HERBERT SCHILLER

**E**ACH weekday morning as the nation's 45 million children troop off to school, they enter their classrooms completely unaware of the careful campaigns that have been organized to capture their young minds for non-educational purposes.

Privately-made teaching aids have been flooding the schools for years. Training films, charts, pamphlets, and maps all bearing the sources of their origin and frequently carrying unabashed promotional content, are routinely distributed or used in schools whose tight budgets make them understandably receptive to such dubious gifts. Now, a more direct approach has been developed. Business has begun to treat the pupils in the country's elementary and high schools as a distinct market, accessible at the site of their formal learning activity.

Public education, the orphan in the affluent society, is being adopted by commerce. Time, Inc. and the General Electric Co. have announced the formation of a jointly-owned subsidiary to produce educational materials. This venture comes hard on the heels of the Xerox Corporation's acquisition of American Education Publications, the largest education periodicals publishing enterprise in the world (publishers of "My Weekly Reader"). With this one financial stroke, magazines circulated from kindergarten through high school to more than 16 and one half million students, move out of the control of a non-profit educational institution (Wesleyan University) and under the harsher economic laws of the market.

It would be both unwise and unfair to prejudge the quality of Time-GE's future educational products or to forecast the character that the "My Weekly Reader" family of magazines will assume under its new management. All the same, there is no lack of evidence to evaluate the performance of a veteran commercial enterprise in this field. Scholastic Magazines, Inc. is now the chief competitor of Xerox and Time-GE. If Scholastic's activities in the educational materials field are a reliable guide to the industry's direction, they foretell a future which promises to transform the American classroom into a suburban shopping center.

From relatively obscure origins in Western Pennsylvania in 1920, Scholastic Magazine company today publishes thirteen magazines for children, covering grades one to twelve, controls three book clubs, and is moving rapidly into ancillary educational services. It claims a weekly circulation for its periodicals exceeding 4 million copies. The company is a privately-owned corporation and it is not required to release financial information but a house brochure states that its first dividend was paid only

in 1951. Apparently, conditions have improved markedly in recent years and an advertising industry newsletter now refers to the corporation as "a gold mine." (*The Gallagher Report*, April 14, 1965).

Like all other classroom periodicals, the magazines come into American classrooms at the initiative of the local teacher who in Scholastic's own words, is "bombarded with sales letters and sample copies." ("The First Forty Years of Scholastic Magazine," p. 8). The teacher orders the publication and payment may come from the students directly or out of school funds budgeted for such purposes. In either case, the individual teacher is the decision-maker, though in some instances, the local school board or district may make recommendations and frequently circulates an "approved list" of publications for classroom use which often includes Scholastic's materials.

To the teacher who is invited to order the magazines for her pupils, the appeal is purely educational. Emphasis is placed on its assistance as a teaching aid. "A Scholastic periodical is more than a weekly newspaper or classroom reader. It's a carefully planned learning aid that helps develop reading skills, study skills, concepts — and a lot of enthusiasm, too."

Once accepted by the teacher, the magazines become a part of the formal education process. Parents, too, are led to believe that classroom materials introduced and endorsed by the school system itself, are exclusively educational instruments whose character they are not competent to criticize. Indeed, how could parents and teachers be expected to doubt the educational reliability of an enterprise that includes a former United States Commissioner of Education as its vice-president and chairman of its National Advisory Council? What basis would a teacher have for not being impressed by the Council's roster, which contains the names of State Commissioners of Education, school superintendents, principals, and other illustrious educators?

The current National Advisory Council of Scholastic Magazines includes these prestigious individuals: Dr. John W. Studebaker, former U.S. Commissioner of Education and Vice-President of Scholastic Magazines, Chairman; Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., State Commissioner of Education, Albany, N. Y.; Dr. George B. Brain, Dean, School of Education, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington; Dr. Forrest E. Connor, Executive Secretary, American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D. C.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. O'Neill C. D'Amour, Supt. of Schools, Diocese of Marquette, Norway, Michigan; Dr.

James W. Maucker, President, State College of Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Dr. Paul A. Miller, Supt. of Schools, Omaha, Nebraska; Dr. Lloyd S. Michael, Evanston Township High School, Evanston, Illinois; Dr. Charles R. Spain, Supt. of Schools, Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Dr. Harold Speers, Supt. of Schools, San Francisco, California.

The Council typifies the educational face that the Scholastic company turns to the public. While every effort is made to convince teachers and parents that its products are educational instruments of the highest quality, quite a different view of Scholastic's operation is presented to the business community.

**I**N a series of advertisements running two-thirds to full-page size in *The New York Times* during 1964, Scholastic called attention to its other attributes. In its March 2nd advertisement, for instance, Scholastic heralded the existence of what it termed the 25 million teen-age market. Headlining its page, "What About These *New Consumers?* Which Brand Will They Buy — National or Private Brand?" the publishers noted that, "Today, the school is the center of teen-agers' daytime activities as well as the area of their social activities," and that its magazines were reaching "more than half of all the pre-adults attending U.S. junior and senior high school!"

Scholastic assured advertisers that it was reaching the "new consumers" "... because these magazines are an integral part of the classroom program ... Repetition and constancy are assured." A curious view of what education is all about was indicated in this promise to the business community: "For brand manufacturers wishing to utilize the learning process to create brand loyalties among these NEW CONSUMERS, no medium is comparable to SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINES."

In another appeal to marketing and advertising executives, concerning the new consumers, the publishers displayed their understanding of the role of education. "Today advertisers must convey product information to consumers when the learning process is most acute, in order to create brand preferences *prior to* and *simultaneous with* adolescence and early marriage." (April 9, 1965.)

The advertisement quotes approvingly from an educational journal that "... the junior high school age is both a stage of life and a form of living. As a stage of life, it is a crucial period. The body develops its adult capacity at this time. The mind is capable of any kind of learning, and it is more supple than it will be in later years."

It is the 4,150,000 circulation of the 13 Scholastic publications among elementary and high school students that provides the inducement to prospective and potential advertisers. Getting into the nation's classrooms is better market penetration, according to Scholastic, than getting into the kids' homes.

To those who may have had the impression that

"The first and most emphatic finding is that no magazine for children is absolutely vital or is highly recommended."

Magazine Evaluation Committee  
American Library Association

schools are places of intellectual and creative activity, the Scholastic view is jarring: "The junior high school is the seedbed of the new generation of consumers," and "Because Scholastic magazines are an integral part of the educational process for millions of teen-agers, they are also a vital part of the new era in consumer marketing." (September 22, 1965.)

Furthermore, the "new consumers develop product preferences in foods, toiletries, cosmetics, drugs, apparel, automobiles, durables, home furnishings — in a universe apart from adults, *centered in school-oriented activities.*" Scholastic magazines offer "the advertiser an unparalleled opportunity to communicate directly with millions of young people who have serious educational objectives ... (They) are a vital part of the growing-up process for millions of teen-agers." (December 1, 1964.)

Does Scholastic lead a double life? For parents and teachers it stresses educational values. At the same time it offers itself as a medium to commerce for winning the allegiance of young people in an atmosphere that is supposed to be directed towards other ends.

Business responds to Scholastic's appeals! Though revenue figures are not available, the price of Scholastic publications in the 1960's is lower than in the 1920's. Compare this with other commodity prices, which have trebled or quadrupled in the same period. Advertising revenues pay the differential, as with similar "free" sources of entertainment and information.

The messages that are directed to the young readers of the Scholastic publications stress a simple point. Scholastic periodicals are a weekly reminder to consume. The joy of purchasing is communicated in words, cartoons, pictures, puzzles, and contests.

Marketing studies, which detail the degree of success in stimulating the acquisition of goods, are quoted by Scholastic to convince advertising executives that no age group is too youthful to be overlooked. "... The teen-ager requires major portions of the typical family's income for food, clothing, medical care, and depending on the state of indulgence by the family, second telephones, television sets, automobiles, and a host of other purchases." (April 9, 1965.)

A survey made for Scholastic on product usage covered a national sample of boys and girls in grades seven through 12. The ages of the children in these levels, remember, run roughly from 12 to 18. The Scholastic copy enthusiastically recited marketing information about these age groups that included such intelligence as: "Among senior high school boys it is estimated that over 20 per cent own cars, 86 per cent of teen-age boys and girls own or use a camera. Senior high school boys own 2 million razors, 93 per cent of the girls and 66.1 per cent of the boys use deodorants, 63.3 per cent of the boys use electric razors, 59.2 per cent of the girls use eye make-up and 50.1 per cent of the boys use after-shave lotion." (July 28, 1965.)

In another public report to the business community on the advantages of advertising in Scholastic publications, the publishers noted that their marketing survey would "surprise many adults who grew up in an era when boys of 12 and 13 looked upon soap as the outer limits in personal grooming, while girls seldom utilized beauty aids until they reached senior high school." (September 22, 1965.)

Summing it up, Scholastic told its potential advertisers that "today children *are* heard," and that "at age 11, girls develop their own ideas about apparel and mothers begin to permit them to make their own choices."



Similarly, "by age 13, boys are choosy about clothes and decide what they will wear." With these patterns of juvenile preferences established, could any sales enthusiast ignore that Scholastic magazines "are the most effective means of communications to these new consumers, whose needs today are so insistent, and whose voices in tomorrow's economy will be ever more important." (December 1, 1965.)

**T**HE warming sun of rising advertising revenues would seem to indicate that business takes the publishers' appeals seriously. In the spring issues of the *Senior Scholastic* for high school readers, in 1963, the advertising component averaged well over 20 per cent an issue. In the nine monthly issues in 1963 of Scholastic's *Co-Ed* magazine, for junior and senior high school readers, advertising per issue never fell below 27 per cent and ranged as high as 74 per cent, though usually occupying about one-third of each issue. For a representative ten issues of *World Week*, Scholastic's current events magazine intended for elementary and junior high pupils, generally ten to twelve years old, advertising in 1964 and 1965 averaged about 25 per cent of each issue.

As might be expected, the largest group of advertisers are cosmetics producers. Ponds, Noxema, Toni, Mennen, Revlon, Clearsil, DuBarry, and Cutex parade their wares through the pages, warning, urging, cajoling girls and boys to be conscious of their complexion responsibilities and obligations. At least as important a category of advertising, in terms of space devoted to the subject, is the United States Armed Forces. The exciting prospects of a career in the Army, Navy or Air Force are repeatedly brought to the attention of the pupil-readers. How does one explain such appeals in an educational periodical, especially when the readership for some issues in which the ads appear are eleven and twelve-year-olds? Are cosmetics and militarism representative of the "high moral and spiritual values" listed in the editorial credo that the company says it believes in and claims to promote?

Following the skin purifiers and the Armed Forces, come the corporations in the billionaire asset club. In this group, A.T. & T., General Motors, General Electric, Ford, Chrysler, New York Life Insurance, the American Oil Company and others, appear regularly. Sometimes, as in the case of A.T. & T., there is no special message other than the warming goodness of Ma Bell, the communications benefactress of the republic. GM, Ford and Chrysler, equally solicitous of the public interest, usually have glossy pictures featuring shiny hardtops or flashy convertibles. These ads, too, incongruously appear in the periodicals brought home by twelve-year-olds.

Following the image-building presentations of the corporate greats as friendly and quasi-official institutions, come the run-of-the-mill inducements to quaff Pepsi, 7-Up, Coke or what have you; wear sneakers; eat cornflakes; and consider diamond engagement and wedding rings — another curious suggestion to pre-puberty readers.

Just what comes through from this advertising ghoulash is hard to say. In any event, certain messages recur weekly. Names of major corporations are inevitably connected with good living and the national heritage. The army is a permanent and attractive feature in the world we inhabit. Eating, drinking and car-riding are the chief concerns of community existence. Personal relationships are dependent mainly on appearance and physical attractiveness, conventionally defined. Preparation for marriage begins in the elementary school. Implicit throughout, is



the conviction that the individual's contribution to society is a function of the level of his consumption expenditure. Solicited at the age of 11 to purchase this or that good, there are no joys that are reserved exclusively for adults;

Tie-ins to business permeate Scholastic Magazines' features. Contests which are developed seemingly to foster art, creative writing or photography, are inevitably the commercial brain-children of national corporations, which turn the programs into self-promotional campaigns. The costs of awards, juries, and ceremonies are relatively cheap means of securing local, state, and national publicity. In 1965, for instance, the Scholastic photography award program for junior and senior high school students was sponsored by Eastman Kodak. The 40th consecutive year of Scholastic's creative writing awards program is sponsored by the Shaeffer Pen Company.

The American Maritime Industry, a trade association which includes the American Marine Institute, Committee of American Steamship Lines, Lake Carriers' Association, Pacific American Steamship Association, Propeller Club of the United States, and the Shipbuilders' Council of America advertised a high school poster contest for 1965 in several Scholastic magazines. The theme for the design was the nationalistic slogan "For Trade or Trips — American Ships." Somewhat out of place, one would imagine, with Scholastic's credo which includes, among other objectives "... cooperation and understanding among all peoples for the peace of the world."

Along with the promotion of culture, on a percentage basis, the Scholastic company has entered the rewarding world of opinion-polls. Here, too, the dual roles of educational enterprise and commercial money-maker present no apparent incompatibility with each other. The educational side is widely displayed to the general public and the business interest is made known to the marketing community. *Scholastic Research Center* and *Institute of Student Opinion*, as it is called, "will expand the firm's continuing investigation of the attitudes and opinions of youth, and educational trends and developments," we are informed by the trade journal, *Publisher's Weekly* (September 14, 1964). As might be expected, "The Center's facilities for market research in the teen-age and young adult markets, including preference and ownership, will be available to business on a fee basis." Having classroom access as an educational service, the Center seemingly intends to keep the advertising and marketing community informed of student "thinking" on issues such as favorite soft drinks, purchase expectations, and brand preferences.

**W**HAT do Scholastic periodicals take up in their educational pages, that portion of the magazine which is the ostensible reason for the existence of this mushrooming venture? In brief, the educational contents are sometimes indistinguishable from the advertising copy. According to

Scholastic, American big business, at home or abroad, provides us with our blessings. The army, whatever its mission, is splendid. "The U.S. economy is among the best instruments devised by man to distribute equitably the fruits of prosperity." (*World Week*, April 15, 1965.)

Educationally, Scholastic magazines, in the most generous appraisal, are mediocre, in no way belying the American Library Association's Magazine Evaluation Committee's comment about all children's periodicals: "The first and most emphatic finding is that no magazine for children is absolutely vital or is highly recommended." (*ALA's Top of the News*, May 1964.)

But education has always been second to commerce in Scholastic's priorities. The lofty tones of Scholastic's editorial credo are contradicted regularly in the messages its magazines transmit. Making money has been the first objective of the company.

From the outset, "advertising has been an integral part of the Scholastic operation, and a major factor in the company's rise to economic good health" (*The First Forty Years of Scholastic Magazine*). The company was kept alive in the lean years of the 1920s and '30s with capital infusions from a few individuals who were important directors in some of the nation's biggest businesses. Leading stockholder and present chairman of the

board of directors of Scholastic company is Joseph Wood Oliver, eldest son of one of the early financial supporters. Mr. Oliver is also vice-president in charge of public relations and personnel of the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company. The publisher, Mr. Maurice Robinson, began his working life as a full-time publicity writer in 1920 for the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce.

The products and services of the Scholastic company are symptomatic of the tidal wave of hucksterism that threatens to submerge American youth. Seeking to find truth and reality in their studies, students are handed instead materials interlaced with spurious and soul-destroying values.

As a result of the inexcusable negligence of school boards, principals, and teachers, American schoolrooms are being infiltrated by salesmen who are disguising their tinselled products and their selfish aims in educational trappings.

*Herbert I. Schiller is research associate professor in the Bureau of Economic and Business Research at the University of Illinois. His writings have been published in The Nation, Progressive, Challenge, and scholarly journals.*

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## **On the Wrong Civil Rights Track**

**S**UPERINTENDENT of Schools Benjamin C. Willis retains the reins on Chicago's schools after more than five years of infighting with the civil rights movement, recently intensified by marches, sitdowns, and action on the Federal front.

True, he is not as firmly in the saddle as before. A once-docile school board occasionally bucks his authority. His pet schemes — doubling the number of school districts and restructuring the staff hierarchy — have been delayed or rejected. He had to squirm a bit before gaining approval of a Federal grant for a questionable program; and Federal authorities may yet make Chicago the first Northern city to be penalized for operating a segregated school system.

While these are burrs under Ben's saddle, they have not yet toppled him. Those who have battled Chicago's sophisticated Jim Crow system must admit that the advances have been few and isolated.

Why?

The answer is political: failures in organization and in communications. The civil rights community has failed to establish a working political organization and it has failed to awaken the middle-ground white community to the fact that Chicago's schools are educationally substandard not only for the Negro but also for the white

child.

Chicago's Democratic power structure is a microcosm of the national scene. Mayor Daley has forged his consensus by finding a little something for everyone. His political mastery has combined old-fashioned ward politicking, sophisticated dealings with the business community, and pronouncements tending to identify him with the liberal image of the national Democratic party into an alliance of business and labor, ethnic groups, liberals and conservatives.

Chicago's Democratic party has captured both the black ghetto vote and the strong segregationist element on the city's far-South, Southwest, and Northwest.

While the Negro vote has been loyal, the other, ethnically identifiable, groups have shown they can and will slip away. Benjamin Adamowski captured the bulk of the "Polish national" vote in the 1963 mayoralty elections, while in the midst of the 1964 Johnson landslide the only Democratic state senator to be unseated was from a Southwest Side district. (The Republican victor had marched with the pro-Willis forces from Bogan High School.)

Meanwhile, civil rights candidates, such as A. A. Rayner who opposed U.S. Rep. William L. Dawson (D., 1st), have not attracted sufficient

**Albert A. Raby  
In the City of Chicago**

**In the Suburbs of Chicago  
Milton Rakove**

**M**ARTIN Luther King, Jr. came to Chicago's North Shore on a Sunday night in late July.

Climaxing two days of personal appearances in Mayor Richard J. Daley's feudal fief, the evangelist leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference forayed north to Winnetka, squarely in the center of Chicago's neighboring upper middle-class and wealthy North Shore cities and villages.

It was, of course, a diversionary thrust, not the main attack, but it had a prescient meaning for the future of race relations in the North.

Chicago may well become the Selma of the North in Dr. King's efforts to make a massive national breakthrough on the integration front, North as well as South, city as well as town, and suburb as well as city.

Here are close to a million Negroes penned in a slowly expanding ghetto spreading from the South Side to the southeastern and southwestern part of the city, up the center of the city

to encompass most of the West Side, and along the Near North Side fringing the old Gold Coast along Lake Michigan.

Here is a well-organized Urban League under the direction of Edwin C. Berry, a sensitive, soft-spoken man, supported by most of the respectable businessmen of the city. Here are active S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E. chapters plentifully supplied with recruits from Chicago's cluster of colleges and universities. Here, too, are powerful, militant civil rights oriented organizations like T.W.O., The Woodlawn Organization. Here, in the city, too, are militant, anti-integrationist organizations supported by many of the tough-minded Polish, Irish, Bohemian, and Lithuanian elements of Chicago's population. Here is a hard-pressed Board of Education, sandwiched in between the demands of the integrationist groups, the resentment of the ethnic whites, and the need to take into account the political realities of life in Chicago. For here, too, is the most powerful

**On the Wrong  
Civil Rights Track**



Negro support.

Daley had a simple calculation to make when Willis' contract was due to expire last spring. Confronted by an angry Negro community that had *not* demonstrated a great potential for political revolt, and a segregationist community that *had* done so, Willis was given a new four-year contract — with the proviso that he would resign on his 65th birthday, December 1966.

The unsuccessful campaign for

educational upgrading and integration was built on a civic, not on a political basis. Instead of organizing wards, amorphous groups were formed. The Democratic party could thus justifiably predict that Negro defection would not reach the danger point.

This deficiency in political organization is being rectified. Dr. Martin Luther King's decision to join forces with civil rights groups in Chicago

has changed their organizational efforts. With the help of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, cohesive organizations are now being formed in the ghetto communities that can become politically active if necessary.

However, the failure to form a sophisticated political apparatus might not have stymied the integration drive if the civil rights groups had won over the middle-ground white community. Such a combination would outweigh segregationist defection from Chicago's Democratic ranks, just as the national party's broadened Northern base enabled it to risk Southern losses. In general, the whites failed to support the civil rights' effort because they were not convinced that their schools are also inferior.

Mistakenly, they viewed Chicago's school mess as primarily a Negro problem. Included are those who are aware that segregation destroys Negro children regardless of the "quality" of the education, and who recognize the harm segregation does to white children. They know that segregated education perpetuates the myth of Negro inferiority, that it retards the educational development of white youngsters, and that it ill prepares the white child for life in an adult world that is becoming more integrated. They, too, depend on the



Democratic big-city organization in the country, led by able Mayor Richard J. Daley, whose relationships with the business interests, the ethnic groups, and the old-line Negro political leaders have held fairly firm through the past decade of rising resentment and potential strife and turmoil.

Dr. King's foray was a sideshow to the main effort in the city. This past summer the North Shore Summer Project launched an effort to secure "Equal Housing for Equal People." College students solicited pledges from residents that they would sell or rent without regard to race, color, religion or national origin; ministers, priests, and rabbis preached sermons in the churches and temples, enjoining their parishioners to support the effort; and pickets stood in silent vigil outside the non-collaborating real estate offices in Chicagoland's most desirable and exclusive suburban communities.

The only substantial Negro population on the North Shore is in Evans-

ton, the largest, most contiguous suburb to the city. About twelve per cent of Evanston's population is Negro, a settlement which grew out of the domestics who serviced the wealthy families in the area.

Evanston has a long history of segregation of its colored citizens. They live mostly in a ghetto in the central-western part of the city. There is a separate but not equal hospital, a separate Y.M.C.A., and some heavily

Negro elementary schools. The high school, which is one of the finest in the country, is integrated (although the school did not build a swimming pool for many years, rumor has it, because of opposition by some parents to integrated swimming). But there is a kind of informal voluntary segregation in social activities at the high school, and a track system of separating the students on the basis of intelligence and performance has



Negro to solve Chicago's school problems.

A broad segment of the white community is genuinely repulsed by the abysmal conditions in Negro schools that have been exposed in the mass media. Recent articles in the *Chicago Daily News* dramatized in sickening detail the intolerable situation at Crane High School, an educational snakepit in the Westside ghetto.

Lois Wille's six-day series showed an angry, undisciplined, defeated student body — the product of overcrowding, insufficient textbooks, uncertified teachers, lack of counseling, and a decaying physical plant. A clinical examination of Chicago's other Negro elementary and high schools would confirm the fact that Crane is not an exception, but an epitomization of black education in the Second City. The series distinctly demonstrated that the blame for Crane's tragically uneducated students lies with the school and its administration.

It is small wonder that the tendency is to label this solely a Negro problem. Certainly it is the most brutal facet of the problem.

Strengthening this viewpoint is the civil rights movement's intense concentration on integration — often neglecting to spell out the entire problem. This has diverted attention from the fact that Chicago's white

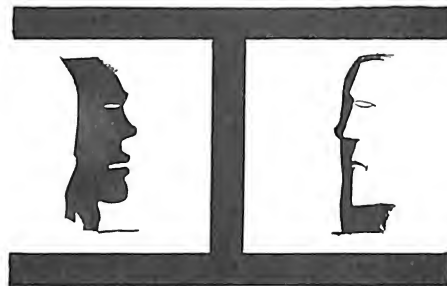
schools are also in a sorry state.

Demonstrations and boycotts — no matter how necessary — also obscure some subtle points. This is partially due to the news media's concentration on terse quotes and actions — but the blame is not fully theirs. It is primarily a failure of the civil rights group not to have sensitized the white community to the fact that there are two educational systems in Chicago: one is Negro and third rate, the other is white and at best second rate.

On a case-by-case basis, many of the "white" problems parallel those of black children. There were at least five white high schools which did not have sufficient textbooks. In one case, the book shortages lasted into December and ended only after vigorous parent protest. Shortages elsewhere continue.

The problem of uncertified teachers permeates the entire system, although it is most severe in Negro schools. According to the Hauser Report, an official study of Chicago schools, 12 per cent of the teachers in white schools are uncertified. In one instance the physics class in a "good" white school was being taught by an art teacher. No one was qualified to teach physics.

Neither the over-all statistics nor the specific instances can comfort



white parents. They can only reassure them that however inadequate, their schools are superior to the Negroes'.

Wide-ranging educational and administrative defects, not confined to Negro schools, were pointed out in the Havighurst Report, another official study.

In special education, for example, only some 60 per cent of the city's educable mentally handicapped are served in public school classes. Of the more seriously retarded, fewer than two per cent are served.

Vast numbers of emotionally handicapped children are excluded as well.

No attempt has been made to hire more social workers, adjustment teachers, and counselors needed in all schools, white and Negro. Psychologists and other social service personnel are so overworked they become little more than statistical clerks.

Willis has persistently refused to disclose scores of standard reading

led to a preponderance of Negro students in the lower tracks and very few in the honors classes.

There are a few Negroes in Wilmette, Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, and Lake Forest, mostly old-time resident servant families. Kenilworth, one of the most restricted communities in the United States, had no Negroes or Jews. In the summer of 1964, Kenilworth integrated. A Negro lawyer and his wife, a columnist for Chicago's leading Negro newspaper, the *Defender*, moved in with their four children. Kenilworth now has its Negro, although it was rumored that the Calhouns would not be allowed to remain because they had a Jewish cook.

It was to this homogeneous area that the North Shore Summer Project directed its efforts and Dr. King lent his presence.

THE rally was held on the Village Green in Winnetka, the suburb adjacent to Kenilworth. The North Shore communities have a penchant for

copying the architecture, institutions, and customs of old New England. Hence, the name of the park. The stage managers, however, missed an opportunity to really dramatize the project by not holding it in Kenilworth, the symbol of racial and religious segregation in the Middle West.

A welcoming committee of forty local citizens, mostly clergymen of all denominations was established to lend support to the program. The meeting was called by an Episcopal minister, a Jewish rabbi gave the invocation, a Catholic priest pronounced the benediction, and a Negro minister, the chairman of the North Shore Project also spoke. Thus, all creeds and races were represented — including a Japanese minister — on the welcoming committee.

Somewhere between ten and fifteen thousand souls appeared at the park to observe, to be reinforced in their convictions, or to be saved. It was not really a crowd of participants, but rather, observers. They sat quietly through the entertainment, listened

politely with moderate attentiveness to the speeches and patiently awaited the arrival of Dr. King who appeared ninety minutes late. The crowd was kept informed of his whereabouts as he passed Old Orchard and entered the North Shore. He had to stop for dinner, it was explained, because he had missed lunch. There was none of the fervor of a crusade. It was a polite, agreeable, tolerably interested audience. The loudest applause, before Dr. King's appearance, was for the Winnetka Park District Board when the chairman thanked that august body for the use of the Green.

One sour note was struck by what appeared to be a few representatives of the American Nazi Party who paraded in uniform on the outskirts of the crowd, one carrying a sign declaring, "Integration Stinks." They had little effect, since their behavior and the use of such language was so non-U in Winnetka that few would deign to notice their presence. It was clear that the natives who disapproved of the project expressed their

and arithmetic tests on a school-by-school basis. They would likely indicate serious deficiencies among Negro students, as indicated in scores obtained unofficially in some schools.

But the real reason behind his failure to yield those scores may be that shortcomings in white schools would appear.

Admissions personnel at major colleges and universities tend to discount grade averages of candidates from any Chicago public school. The quality of our "A" students varies so dramatically from school to school that averages are downgraded pending further testing or evaluation.

Even prior to admission in college, Chicago students who transfer to better suburban schools, such as Evanston Township or New Trier, often find themselves behind or struggling to compete.

This is one of the high tolls the white community unwittingly pays for segregation. Operating two school systems on the budget of one is a vast drain and waste of resources.

Whites actually pay a heavier price in the matter of school plants. Willis' school construction program has put most new buildings in Negro areas. This is a key measure to keep Negro children from overflowing into white schools. As a result, scores of white schools are aged and decaying. But the whites have not been per-

## Comment on School Boundaries

The Chicago *Near North News* reports that Chicago Superintendent Willis asserts that segregated housing causes segregated schools. He also says that no attention is paid to the color of children when school boundaries are drawn up. Before the Carl Sandburg village was built, reports the paper, "the land it occupies was in the Franklin school district. . . . Franklin has a student body that is 84 per cent Negro. Now that Sandburg is up and is occupied mostly by white people, kids who live there (as well as kids who live in Marina City, one and one-half miles away) are supposed to . . . attend Ogden. Supt. Willis changed the lines when they tore down the slums that preceded Sandburg. We wonder how Willis and his apologists explain the following figures, which come from his own desk:

Cooley . . . . .	97.2% Negro	Alcott . . . . .	100 % White
Byrd . . . . .	97.6% Negro	Headley . . . . .	100 % White
Jenner . . . . .	96.6% Negro	LaSalle . . . . .	93.1% White
Manierre . . . . .	92.3% Negro	Lincoln . . . . .	98.7% White
Schiller . . . . .	91 % Negro	Mayer . . . . .	99.8% White
Sexton . . . . .	96 % Negro	Prescott . . . . .	100 % White
Agassiz . . . . .	99.8% Negro		

Maybe it's all an accident. Maybe the moon is made of green cheese."

sued that crumbling mortar in the schools is the administrative backlash of official segregation.

The administration's refusal to make public such information is typical of its general lack of cooperation with parents, community groups, and the news media. Havighurst was severely critical of this "four-walls" approach, isolating schools from the larger community. While this administrative isolation is a hot issue among organ-

ized groups, it is hardly one to inflame the emotions of the less involved citizen.

Larger masses of middle-class parents, however, might become more aroused if fully acquainted with some of the curricular defects listed by Havighurst. Singled out was the science program, which lags well behind nationally recommended standards.

Havighurst investigators were "dis-

opinions by quietly remaining at home.

When Dr. King finally appeared he was given a standing round of applause. He was listened to respectfully, without rancor or hostility. When he told his predominately white audience that the American Dream had not been fulfilled for all men, chided them for not doing their share, and admonished them that what the S.C.L.C. was doing was for their good, too, they accepted his gentle strictures in good spirit. He spoke eloquently and established a better rapport with the crowd than the previous speakers who seemed somewhat out of touch with this type of audience.

It is evident that Dr. King has an ability to reach upper middle-class white audiences that most of the Negro civil rights leaders lack. Many of them are too conscious of their backgrounds. They are uncomfortable in an alien society. Their emotionalism is too strident.

But Dr. King is cut from a different

cloth. The depth of his feeling is tempered by the intensity of his concern for all men, white and black. He is not seeking only to right the wrongs done to the blacks, but also the wrongs the whites have done to themselves. He is unquestionably one of the great orators of our times. There is a Gandhian quality about his presence as well as his message. Like St. Paul he can carry the message to the gentiles better than any of the other apostles.

The climax of the rally was as genteel as the program. When Win Stracke, a local guitarist, rose to lead the crowd in "We Shall Overcome," there was little hand-clasping or swaying. They sang diffidently, as if they were visitors in someone else's church, politely singing a hymn not of their own faith. It was getting late and time to take the children home. They could have been at Ravinia listening to a concert by Ella Fitzgerald.

**T**HERE are, I think, some lessons to be learned from Dr. King's hegira

to Chicagoland's North Shore suburbia.

Firstly, many of the contemporary civil rights leaders will not fill the bill in reaching white upper middle-class suburban audiences. The type of program and speaker that are effective in Negro or white lower-class communities make much less of an impact in the establishment suburbs. The civil rights movement needs fewer ministers preaching the gospel in these areas and more businessmen and lawyers, who speak the language of these communities, who can be less emotional and moralistic, and more pragmatic and practical. The emotionally charged, not as well educated, uncompromising liberal civil rights advocate, describing the situation of a deprived child in a second rate school, is much less effective than the cool, moderately conservative, low-keyed speaker. People in these communities, where it is bad manners to raise your voice or show emotion, can establish a rapport with such types much easier than



mayed to find that none of the text materials that have come out of . . . major national science study projects was on the list of approved textbooks . . ."

Teaching techniques in foreign languages have undergone a revolution in many ways parallel to scientific advances, yet Havighurst notes that Chicago schools trail in bringing these innovations to the classroom.

Chicago schools have an unwritten policy to promote almost everyone, regardless of achievement. Teachers from throughout the system confide that they dare not fail more than four or five per cent. The polite term for this is "social promotion."

The Havighurst report, commissioned by the Board of Education at high cost, consumes some 500 pages that should jolt every Chicago parent. Yet, virtually none of the report's recommendations in the areas of curriculum, administration, or integration have been put into effect.

White schools in this city are clearly second rate. The civil rights movement has attempted to bring this message home, but obviously has failed.

**T**HE question of Willis to one side for a moment, one nagging question persists: can Chicago's schools be integrated?

with a somewhat alien, more abrasive type.

Secondly, there will be very little open opposition to projects like the North Shore Summer Project. While a small minority of the residents might object vociferously, and another small minority will work hard for integration, the great majority will remain passive, keeping whatever opinions or objections they have to themselves. For, it is bad manners, too, in these communities, to become too deeply involved in anything, particularly something as revolutionary and foreign as the strug-

The answer: yes, not overnight, but rapidly.

Havighurst and others estimate that about one-third could be integrated by simple boundary changes, "clusters," and pairings of Negro and white schools. This could be achieved by the beginning of the next school year.

Suggestions by Havighurst, Hauser, and others are moderate. More radical means, such as bussing, have not been part of any immediate programs, despite the myth that integration is equated with bussing. Obviously, a white parent would have to be insane to want his child shipped off to Crane; Negro parents are forced into this insanity.

But despite modest recommendations for integration, acceptable to the civil rights movement, mixed schools are dismissed by certain civic leaders and pundits as "politically unrealistic."

Declaring integration impracticable, and promoting the myth that poor schools are fundamentally a Negro problem, those spokesmen champion crash programs for black schools to meet the crisis.

This alarming development is in essence an insidious, updated version of the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Because no one can argue with the urgency and necessity for pump-

ing up programs and curricula in the Negro schools, the notion is seductive despite its limited goals. However, educational apartheid, even with equal or compensatory standards, can never result in equal education. So judges the Supreme Court.

An even greater danger is that a single-minded focus on "compensatory" education for Negroes — in Negro schools — means the ghetto will be kept intact, if not reinforced. The fundamental goal must be to break up the ghetto, not gild it. But problem-solvers such as the Brothers Alsop, writing in syndicated columns and the *Saturday Evening Post*, hint that the gilded ghetto is the only politically realistic approach.

Once the white community learns of the full measure of its sorry educational plight, changes will be made. This task in communication will be reinforced by turning the Negro "revolution" into a genuine ballot-box rebellion.

The coming months will see the civil rights movement travel both roads.

*Albert A. Raby is a teacher in Chicago and Convenor of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, a civil rights group, primarily active in improving the Chicago school system.*

gle for Negro equality.

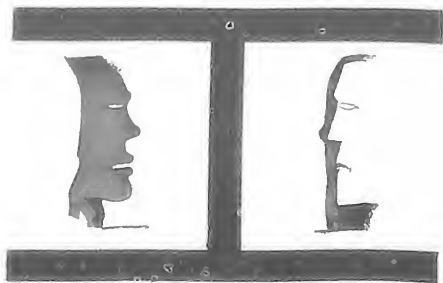
*Thirdly, it is questionable whether the game is worth the gamble. The cost of good housing in these communities is so high that few Negroes can afford to move in. Very few will.*

Most of them will find that there is an unofficial kind of segregation in these communities, based not so much on racism as on different culture and behavior patterns. The Jews have already discovered this in Chicago's North Shore suburbs, where split-level communities have developed between the old settler Anglo-Saxon gentiles and the immigrant Jews. Those Negroes who do move in will discover that they are still living in a somewhat segregated society in which they and their children will have the problems of a distinctive minority in an alien culture. Of course, they will also have the more significant advantages of good schools, safe streets, and green lawns.

Finally, it is debatable whether the civil rights movement should spend much time, effort, and money on such

a relatively small segment of the Negro community in America. There is so much to do in the cities of the North, as well as in the South, in education, vocational training, providing housing, opening cultural doors, and developing political participation. In view of the limited resources, it would seem that the civil rights leaders would be wiser to devote themselves to the solution or alleviation of these problems for the next few years, at least, and let the relatively minor problem of integration in communities like Chicago's North Shore work itself out, as it almost surely will.

*Milton Rakove, associate professor of political science, is on leave from the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle and is teaching this year at Loyola University and Barat College. He has written for Virginia Quarterly Review, New City, and Chicago Sun-Times.*



An aerial photograph of St. Louis, Missouri, showing the city's skyline and surrounding urban area. The Gateway Arch is visible on the right side of the image.

# The Tenuous Base of the St. Louis Economy

*Visible Improvements Hide an Economy  
Which has become Dependent  
Upon Subsidies for Renewal and Defense Spending for Growth*

**William H. Kester**

**B**y most measures used to grade an area, St. Louis is doing well. Employment, output, income, and retail sales are at record highs. The unemployment rate in 1965 reached the lowest point in 12 years and was significantly below the national average.

The aura of well-being is enhanced by the visible improvements that are being made — the renewal of the downtown area with its new focus on the magnificent 630-foot high stainless steel arch on the riverfront and the continuing construction of efficient, if less-magnificent, factories and shopping centers throughout the metropolitan area.

New expressways and bridges being built promise to tie the two-state area more closely together and offer more efficient means of moving in and through the region.

*But the facade of gleaming structures hides an economy which increasingly has become dependent on subsidy for renewal and federal defense outlays for growth. In short, the basic economic advantages that made St. Louis a major metropolitan area have been replaced to a large extent by a tenuous base.*

While the St. Louis economy is operating at nearly full capacity, as demonstrated by the low rate of unemployment, business, as in most other areas in the United States, have not solved the major urban problems of eliminating poverty, racial discrimination, and blighted housing.

Much of the growth of the St. Louis economy in recent years has been dependent upon the ability of one firm — McDonnell Aircraft Corp. — to sell its limited line of military aircraft and spacecraft to the United States Government.

This company, which has nearly all of its employees in the St. Louis area, had 5,600 on its payroll in 1950 and 35,000 in 1965, making it the largest employer in the area. In the same period, manufacturing employment in the St. Louis metropolitan area rose from 273,000 to 275,900, and the latter figure includes Jefferson and Franklin counties in Missouri, which were added to the definition of the metropolitan area after 1950.

Obviously, excluding McDonnell Aircraft, manufacturing employment in the area declined in the last 15 years by about 26,000 or 10 per cent.

## *Dependence Will Increase*

And the dependence of the St. Louis area on government spending for defense and space is likely to increase further. McDonnell Aircraft is scheduled to add 5,000 to its payroll in St. Louis, largely to speed output of the Phantom aircraft. Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., Wagner Electric Corp., and Emerson Electric Co. also have recently received additional government contracts for defense output as a result of the stepped up activity in the Viet Nam war.

The importance of the defense outlays for the St. Louis economy can be seen in the number of jobs that are directly tied to such work — McDonnell accounts for one out of every eight manufacturing jobs. The number of jobs dependent upon subcontracts and suppliers of the major defense contractors would increase the relative importance even further.

The dependence of the St. Louis area on defense work is demonstrated by its high rank among areas in prime military contracts — third in the nation in fiscal 1964.

St. Louisans take justifiable pride

in the renewal of the downtown area, but they also should take note that it would not have been possible without the subsidies of the federal government and the Missouri redevelopment law. The key to the renewal was the development of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the riverfront with the Gateway To The West arch as the central feature. This project will cost \$43,500,000, with the Federal government paying for three-fourths of the total.

## *Tax Subsidy Boosts Area*

Most of the new structures in the downtown area and the Mill Creek Valley area west of the downtown area utilize the Missouri urban redevelopment corporation law, which gives tax relief for 25 years. In the first 10 years, the tax is on the land only with the assessment at the pre-development level. In the last 15 years, the tax is on the land plus 50 per cent of the assessed value of the improvements.

It is this subsidy which the Civic Center Redevelopment Corp. is using to build the new Busch Sports Stadium and related parking and office buildings at a cost of \$89,000,000.

Mansion House Center is also using the subsidy route for its \$52,000,000 riverfront project which will include luxury apartments and commercial buildings. In Mill Creek Valley, projects costing approximately \$122,000,000 will replace slums as a result of the subsidy.

The new expressway system is part of the Federal Interstate Highway program — also largely paid from federal funds.

Not all of the St. Louis area's economic development is based on federal outlays and subsidies. Private



enterprise has been able to build a significant number of new industrial plants and commercial buildings in the area without subsidies.

Perhaps the most significant of these developments are the automobile and steel plants. Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. established assembly plants here after World War II and General Motors Corp. expanded its Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants by significant amounts. As a result the St. Louis metropolitan area is the third largest in production of motor vehicles.

Granite City Steel Co. and Laclede Steel Co. have undertaken expansion programs which will put their steel-making facilities alongside the most efficient in the nation. Furthermore, much of the iron ore used by Granite City Steel will come from a jointly-owned project in the nearby Ozarks and Laclede Steel is studying the possibility of using Missouri iron ore.

### *Growth Rate Falling Off*

*The burst of construction activity also hides a significant fact apparent only from analysis of dry statistics — the growth rate of the St. Louis area is considerably slower than the national average. This can be seen in a number of ways. Population, which in a productive society is roughly related to activity, from 1900 to 1950 increased in metropolitan areas in the United States at an average rate one and one-half times faster than in the St. Louis area. And from 1950 to 1960, the St. Louis area's population increased 19.8 per cent, compared with an average increase of 26.4 per cent for all metropolitan areas in the country.*

Another measure of the relative decline of St. Louis is its slipping rank in population. At the beginning of the century, it was the fourth largest in the nation. Today it is the tenth largest metropolitan area, having been passed since 1960 by Washington, D.C.

This slower-than-national rate of growth also is reflected in other statistics. Retail sales in the area rose 17.3 per cent from 1958 to 1963, compared with 23 per cent for the nation as a whole. Non-farm payroll employment in the area by October had increased 8.8 per cent from the 1957-59 average, compared with a 16.2 per cent rise in the United States, a report by the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis shows. Other measures of activity reinforce the argument.

### *Chicago Forges Ahead*

It all started more than 100 years ago. St. Louis and Chicago were rivals for the economic supremacy of the Midwest. The Civil War gave Chicago an advantage by limiting business in St. Louis with its trade territory in the South and giving impetus to activity in Chicago.

The advent of the railroads gave Chicago another advantage over St. Louis, which continued to rely on the river transportation that had made it great. St. Louis was providentially situated at the northern terminus for large steamboats used on the lower Mississippi river system and at the southern terminus for the smaller boats used on the rivers above St. Louis. Thus, in the era when steamboats provided the main means of transportation, St. Louis was a natural gateway for commerce for a vast part of the Midwest.

With the development of the railroad system, Chicago was able to break the hold of St. Louis on the commerce of the upper Mississippi valley.

The role of St. Louis as a trade center for the Southwest and West has been taken over by newer cities in those regions. The establishment of manufacturing plants in the southwestern and western cities further reduced the markets of St. Louis producers.

The economic health of the St. Louis economy is closely related to that of the region in which it is situated. This surrounding region — generally defined as the eastern two-

thirds of Missouri and that portion of Illinois south of Springfield — has lost population in recent years as a result of more rapid mechanization of farming and mining activities while industrial and other job opportunities failed to increase sufficiently to balance the loss.

As a result, unemployment is high in many of the cities in this region and average income is lower than in the nation as a whole.

### *Industries Leave Area*

*A major reason for the slower-than-national rate of growth in St. Louis has been the out-migration of industries which accounted for significant numbers of jobs. Meat packing and the production of electric motors, shoes, and apparel have been transferred from St. Louis plants to new ones established in cities and towns where wage rates were less than in St. Louis.*

Once known as the city which was "first in shoes," today it has less than 1,000 shoe production workers. However, the area is still the headquarters of major shoe firms, such as International Shoe Co., Brown Shoe Co., and others.

In some cases, operations have been transferred from the St. Louis area to other cities where subsidies have been offered in the form of plants owned by municipal agencies or tax-free industrial development agencies. Such inducements have not been permitted in St. Louis or St. Louis county.

Too often, existing firms owned by

### *Phantom aircraft assembly line at McDonnell Aircraft.*





St. Louisans, who did not provide adequately for effective management, have been sold to large firms with headquarters in other cities. Operations of some of these firms subsequently have been stopped by the new owners. The latest example is Ely & Walker, an 87-year-old dry-goods firm once one of the two largest of its kind in the nation, which will terminate all St. Louis operations in 1966 after being sold to a Nashville, Tenn., firm.

But out-migration and dissolution of existing industry is expected in an area as large as St. Louis, as new economic forces come to bear on the operation of business. *Unfortunately for those who think growth is a desirable goal, new industry has not been attracted to the St. Louis area at the pace needed to offset the large attrition of the postwar period.* Expansion of existing industry has been the source of most of the area's postwar growth.

### *Few New Firms*

About five per cent of the industry that has been in the St. Louis area since 1945 was new to the area, compared with an average of 15 to 20 per cent in other metropolitan areas in the nation, D. Reid Ross, executive vice president of the Regional Industrial Development Corp., said recently.

The slow rate of industrial development of the area has led business leaders to step up efforts to attract new firms. In addition to the established activities of the chambers of commerce and railroads, Union Electric Co., the local public utility, entered the field and made significant contributions in aiding new firms locating plants in the area. In 1965, the Regional Industrial Development Corp. was founded to coordinate and augment the activities of other agencies.

As a result of trends in recent years, the character of the St. Louis economy has shifted away from production of nondurable goods towards concentration on output of durable goods.

The implications of this shift are important. Durable goods production is usually more volatile in a business cycle than nondurable goods output, potentially subjecting the St. Louis area to wide swings in activity.

The increased importance of the automobile industry in the St. Louis economy adds to its potential instability. The output of automobiles

has varied significantly from year to year, although over the long-term period, it has grown. The three assembly plants in the St. Louis area employed in 1965 considerably more than in previous years. But jobs have not been steady in some of the plants: Ford and Chrysler reduced employment sharply when sales declined several years ago.

Although the increasing importance of durable goods production adds to the potential instability of the area's economy, it has a beneficial factor of increasing the income level more than an equal number of jobs in nondurable goods production. Wage rates in durable goods production average more than in nondurable goods plants.

### *Decentralization Hurts City*

The decentralization of the St. Louis economy should be noted because of its importance in shaping future activity in the area. This feature is not unique to the St. Louis area, but it is being accelerated by the continuing decline of the mass transportation function. The Bi-State Development agency acquired all of the local transit lines in the area with the hope that relief from taxes would improve the service and enable commuters to return to public transportation rather than to rely on private automobiles. No rapid transit is planned here as in, for example, San Francisco.

The decentralization of economic activities continues. St. Louis Independent Packing Co., owned by Swift Co., is moving from an old and inefficient plant in the Mill Creek Valley area in mid-town St. Louis to the fringe of the area in rural St. Charles county. Hussmann Refrigerator Co. recently announced that it would build a new plant in suburban St. Louis county to replace its two older plants in St. Louis.

Only St. Louis and Jefferson counties in the area had higher manufacturing employment in 1963 than in 1958, the Bureau of the Census has reported. St. Louis county gained 12,790, or 24 per cent, and Jefferson county gained 556, or 21 per cent, in the period. In St. Louis city, manufacturing employment declined 13,500, or 10 per cent.

Retail establishments have followed the population to the suburbs, with the result that sales in St. Louis city declined 8.5 per cent from 1958 to 1963, while in St. Louis county they gained 51.5 per cent.

## *Economy Depends On McDonnell*

The economic base of St. Louis becomes even more tenuous as McDonnell Aircraft grows in importance. This company has had great success in building military aircraft and spacecraft and can look forward to several more years of high production of these items, based on present planning of the United States Government. But the Phantom aircraft eventually will be replaced with some other design, which could be made by some other company. And while the Gemini spacecraft made by McDonnell is becoming the workhorse of space exploration, the Government could diversify its sources.

In the aerospace industry, success is not dependent upon location but rather on the ability of the firm to assemble a team of engineers and technicians that can produce a machine designed to meet a set of specifications. McDonnell Aircraft's success is largely due to the abilities of its founder and chairman, James S. McDonnell, despite his attribution of its success to "the team." The firm has been, and still is, largely a "one-man show." Now 66 years old, Mr. McDonnell shows no real move to release his control over the company's major activities. The future of the firm, on which the St. Louis community depends to a large extent, is a question which cannot be answered now.

But, it is no exaggeration to say that the concentration of so much of the St. Louis manufacturing employment in one establishment, such as McDonnell, increases the possibility of large changes. The aerospace industry has been marked by rapid shifts in employment as, for example, in Wichita, Kansas, when Boeing lost business, and Farmingdale, New York, when Republic Aviation lost major defense contracts.

Federal monies and visible improvements hide St. Louis' tenuous economic base from its own decision-makers. While the departure of native industry continues and St. Louis growth fails to match the national rate, only feeble attempts are made to review honestly the economic state of affairs and project steps to improve the outlook.

*William H. Kester is the financial editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Formerly he was an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.*

# A Proposal to Solve the Reapportionment Hassle

Walter S. G. Kohn

ON August 4, 1965, the United States Senate defeated a proposed Constitutional Amendment offered by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. The vote was 57 for the amendment and 39 against. This amendment would have made it possible for the individual states to draw the lines of the constituencies of one house of the legislature on a basis other than population. Mr. Dirksen used his great influence as minority leader; he had the support and the vote of majority leader Mike Mansfield of Montana. President Lyndon Johnson did not officially object to the proposal, although the *New York Times* reported considerable efforts in opposition by Vice President Hubert Humphrey. The actual vote fell short of the required two-thirds. The Junior Senator from Illinois has avowed to continue his fight and the

matter, on schedule, came up again in January. However, for the time being, the Supreme Court's verdict of "one man — one vote" will stand.

The future of our bicameral state legislatures must now come under review. For if both houses are apportioned in the same way, i.e. if the same people in the same areas are voting for members of both houses, both houses would be duplicates of one another. Therefore, a case could be made for unicameral legislatures. Nebraska, the only state in the union that has such a system, strongly advocates a one-house legislature; but this sentiment does not seem to be shared in the other 49 states.

There are three main reasons for the existence of a second house:

federalism, representation, and restraint on legislation.

In a federal system both the people and the component parts of the federation, i.e. the states, must be represented. But do we really have federalism within our states? Counties are created by, and subject to, action of the state. The relationship between the component parts of the state and the state legislature is thus one of subordination and can in no way be compared with the relationship of the states and the Congress.

The second purpose of a two-house legislature is to give emphasis to estates, classes, or groups within society. The British House of Commons, representing the "commoners," the ordinary men and women in the street, and the House of Lords, where all the nobility and a number of bishops, acting as spokesmen for the clergy, can be found, are classic examples. But who in twentieth century America would want to import a House of Lords with whom tradition-bound Britain herself is becoming increasingly more dissatisfied? One could of course make it into an "Economic and Social Council" along French lines where the various economic and social interests, such as workers, farmers, employers, etc. are represented. But this would not be a popularly elected body.

The third, and from our point of view most pertinent, argument for bicameralism is our traditional, and therefore revered, check and balance system. *The underlying fear of putting too much power into the hands of one chamber reflecting the population is really the basis for insisting on a sec-*

## THE CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY REPORTS

Implications of the reapportionment controversy for labor, industry, rural interests and civil rights groups—all keenly aware of the scope of state legislative power—assured that both sides in the coming battle would mount major campaigns.

Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (R. Ill.) has rewritten his proposed amendment in an effort to placate some of its foes and to remove doubts about use of its machinery to deny Negroes their full voice in states legislatures, a criticism of his original measure that particularly distressed him.

A number of "imponderables," in the word of a Senate staff aide, could influence the outcome of the battle. These include the fact that Senators will be returning from an 11-week vacation between sessions, at least part of which was spent in home states where local pressures presumably made themselves felt. Also,

1966 is an election year. Twenty of the 68 Democratic Senators and 14 of the 32 Republican Senators face re-election.

In addition, many states have begun or completed reapportionment of both legislative houses on population bases; reapportionment since 1962 has taken on the dimensions of a massive political revolution. Although occurring gradually and in an atmosphere of confusion and dissent, this revolution moved steadily forward in 1965.

Neither side in the controversy dropped its guard during the hiatus between sessions. Opponents of the Dirksen measure continued to keep account of their numbers, while Dirksen was said to be preparing for a substantial effort to round up votes for his bill.

In the House, where the measure also would require passage, there were few early signs of activity on the reapportionment issue.

ond chamber and preferably one which is not based on population. For this reason the argument advanced by Senator Dirksen to "trust the people" to decide how to apportion sounds strange indeed.

**I**F the tradition of bicameralism is to be retained on the state level, some distinction between the two houses must be made. One way would be to draw entirely different district maps, still on a population basis, but different nevertheless. We are currently encountering all sorts of problems in apportioning one house according to population; doing it twice might prove next to impossible in view of the political problems involved.

If the term of office differed among the members of the two houses, this might be a noticeable distinction. Electing an assemblyman every two years and a state senator every four could draw dissimilar responses from the electorate. Yet, there would be times when both of them were elected together and this would then obliterate any claim to not being alike.

Illinois points the way to a third system. Here, the state senate is elected in single member constituencies where one person is chosen in one area and the highest vote-getter wins, irrespective of whether he has an absolute majority or merely a few more votes than his nearest competitor. On the other hand, house members are ordinarily elected by cumulative voting. This means that three members are chosen in each district. Each voter has three votes, and he may give all three to one person, or one and one-half votes to two candidates, or one each to all three. In reality this often means that the majority party puts up two candidates and the minority party one, so that a contest is avoided. This system could of course be modified by establishing "plural member constituencies" where three or more legislators are elected, each voter having as many votes as there are seats to be filled, but with the proviso that no more than one vote can be cast for one person.

*In all these instances, the character of the second house would be somewhat unlike the first. Nevertheless, are these differences great enough to warrant the existence of a second branch of the legislature, merely for the sake of having one?*

**I**T must be admitted that any differences in districting, in time of election, or manner of counting votes

are essentially procedural and in essence leave one house a duplicate of the other. Perhaps one way out would be a functional distinction between the two houses. Surprisingly, it might appease the most ardent supporters of Sen. Dirksen's amendment as well as the adherents of unicameral legislatures.

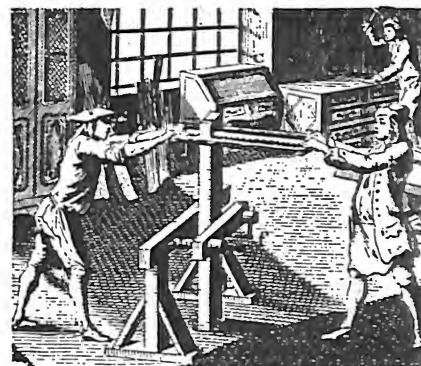
*The solution may be to apportion one house of the legislature according to population with full control over financial matters, while legislation affecting anything else would also need the approval of the second house.*

The second chamber would be apportioned in any way a state sees fit; for example, the rural areas might well dominate. Any legislative proposal would go to both houses and if approved by both would be immediately sent to the governor for his signature or his veto. If there is disagreement, a conference committee would attempt to iron out the difficulty, and if it is successful, the proposal would, of course, pass. However, in cases where no agreement is possible, the measure would be returned to the first house for further deliberations.

*If after this, no agreement with the other house would be in sight, the measure could be held over until after the next election of the first house, provided such election would be held every two years. Once the election has taken place and the new house would decide to take up the previously rejected measure and would pass it again, it would become law, regardless of the objections of the other house.*

Similar systems are being used in various countries abroad. The advantage would be to have a check, not a permanent one, but one lasting long enough to give the population-based house a chance to reconsider and the electorate the opportunity to pronounce judgment. We would retain the right to apportionment of one house any way we want, and, because the will of the majority of the electorate would ultimately prevail, the Supreme Court may well uphold the legality of such a setup which thus could go far toward solving what is rapidly becoming a major domestic problem.

*Walter S. G. Kohn is associate professor of political science at the Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois.*



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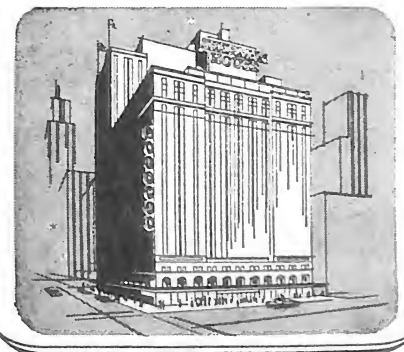
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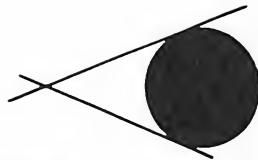
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# VOTING RECORDS

## Congress

With this issue **FOCUS/Midwest** completes the coverage of 73 key votes in the First Session of the 89th Congress. For the complete coverage of key votes in the 1965 General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri, see Vol. IV, 5-6.

### SYMBOLS:

S: Senate Bill  
HR: House of Representatives Bill  
R: Republican  
D: Democrat  
ND: Northern Democrat  
SD: Southern Democrat  
Res. Resolution  
J. Res.: Joint Resolution  
Y: Affirmative Vote  
N: Negative Vote  
A: Absent  
F: Paired For  
X: Paired Against

## U.S. SENATE BILLS

(A) S 1564: **ANTI-POLL TAX.** Amendment to add to Voting Rights Act of 1965 a declaration of Congress that the requirement of the

payment of poll taxes in certain states as a condition of voting denies or abridges the right to vote; in addition, to direct the Attorney General to institute court action against the enforcement of any poll tax, or any substitute for a poll tax. Accepted 69-20: R 22-4; D 47-16 (ND 41-1; SD 6-15), May 19, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(B) S 1564: **CLOTURE ON VOTING BILL.** Motion that the Senate invoke cloture on debate on the voting rights bill. Cloture motion adopted 70-30: R 23-9; D 47-21 (ND 42-4; SD 5-17), May 25, 1965. (With all 100 Senators present and voting, 67 were needed for cloture). A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(C) S 1564: **PASSAGE OF VOTING BILL.** Suspends the use of literacy tests or similar voter qualifications and authorizes the appointment of federal voting examiners to order the registration of Negroes in states and voting districts whose voter activity had fallen below certain specified levels; the bill also contained a Congressional declaration that state poll taxes discriminated against the right to vote and directed the Attorney General to institute court actions against such taxes. Passed 77-19: R 30-2; D 47-17 (ND 42-0; SD 5-17), May 26, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(D) S 1648: **PUBLIC WORKS AID BILL.** Authorizes annual appropriations of \$665 million for grants and loans for public works, development facilities and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas. Passed 71-12: R 17-9; D 54-3 (ND 41-0; SD 13-3), June 1, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(E) EXEC. A, 89th CONGRESS 1ST SESSION: **UN CHARTER AMENDMENTS.** Ratifies increase in the size of the Security Council from 11 to 15 members and of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members. Amendments ratified 71-0: R 25-0; D 46-0 (ND 32-0; SD 14-0), June, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(F) S 1837: **CUTS FOREIGN AID.** Limits the total authorization under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 for each of fiscal years 1966-67 to \$3,243,000,000, a reduction of \$185 million below the amount contained in the bill for fiscal 1966. Accepted 40-35: R 16-10; D 24-25 (ND 15-20; SD 9-5), June 11, 1965. A

"nay" was a vote supporting the President.

(G) HR 7750: **PASSES FOREIGN AID.** Passage of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 (\$3,243,000,000); terminates the existing foreign aid program by June 30, 1967; and requests the President to submit to Congress by July 1, 1966, his new program. Passed 68-20: R 19-10; D 49-10 (ND 39-2; SD 10-8), June 14, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(H) HR 8371: **BANS MAIL SEIZURES.** Amendment to Excise Tax Reduction Act prohibits the Internal Revenue Service from intercepting and opening the mail of delinquent taxpayers. Accepted 87-1: R 28-0; D 59-1 (ND 40-0; SD 19-1), June 15, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(I) S 559: **CIGARETTE WARNING.** Requires that cigarette packages and cartons bear this statement: "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health," prohibiting any other warning requirement on the packages and prohibiting for a three-year period any requirements that cigarette advertising include a similar health warning. Passed 72-5: R 26-0; D 46-5 (ND 31-4; SD 15-1), June 16, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(J) HR 8371: **REDUCES EXCISE TAXES.** Cuts of \$4.7 billion between the dates of passage and Jan. 1, 1969, resulting in the elimination of all federal excise taxes by 1969 except user, regulatory and sumptuary levies. Passed 84-3: R 25-1; D 59-2 (ND 40-1; SD 19-1), June 15, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(K) S Res 107: **AID TO D.A.R.** Print as a Senate document, at a cost of \$2,557 for 1,500 copies, the annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. (The DAR's annual reports had been printed as Senate documents since 1899; annual reports of veteran's organizations and the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are also printed as Congressional documents. Opponents of S Res 107 said the DAR report contained "drivel of no national interest.") Adopted 64-9: R 24-0; D 40-9 (ND 25-9; SD 15-0), June 17, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(L) S J RES 1: **PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY AMENDMENT.** Proposes a constitutional amendment to permit the Vice President to become Acting President if the President were unable to perform his duties, and to provide for filling a vacancy in the office of Vice President. Adopted 68-5: R 21-1; D 47-4 (ND 31-3; SD 16-1), July 6, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(M) HR 6675: **PASSES MEDICARE.** Social Security Amendments of 1965 provide a basic compulsory health insurance program for the aged financed mainly by a payroll tax and a supplementary voluntary health insurance program financed by general revenue and contributions from participants; increasing Social Security cash benefits and expanding the Kerr-Mills program, child health care programs, and other federal-state public assistance programs. Passed 68-21: R 13-14; D 55-7 (ND 43-0; SD 12-7), July 9, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(N) S 2213: **KEEPS RENT SUPPLEMENTS.** Amendments to Housing and Urban Development Act to delete rent supplements to low-income families. Rejected 40-47: R 24-5; D 16-42 (ND 6-35; SD 10-7), July 15, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

(O) HR 7984: **APPROVES HOUSING BILL.** Passage of Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 providing rent supplements to low-income families and extending and amending laws relating to public housing, urban renewal and community facilities. Passed 54-30: R 7-19; D 47-11 (ND 38-1; SD 9-10), July 15, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(P) S 9: **PASSES COLD WAR GI BILL.** Authorizes grants for educational and vocational training and loan guarantees and direct loans for purchase of homes, farm-lands, livestock and farm machinery for veterans who were inducted into the armed services between Jan. 31, 1955 and July 1, 1967. Passed 69-17: R 18-13; D 51-4 (ND 38-1; SD 13-3), July 19, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

(Q) S 1118: **PASSES WASHINGTON, D.C. HOME RULE.** Approves — contingent on approval by D.C. voters — for election in the District of a Mayor and District Council, a nonpartisan Board of Education and a non-voting Delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, among other items. Passed 63-29: R 16-14; D 47-15 (ND 42-1; SD 5-14), July 22, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

## U.S. HOUSE VOTES

### ILLINOIS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
Gray (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N
Price (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schisler (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N
Shipley (D)	N	Y	N	F	A	Y	Y	F	Y	A	Y	A	N	Y	Y	N	A	Y	A	Y	A	N	A
Anderson (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	A	A	A	Y	A	A	F
Arends (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	X	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	F	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	F
Erlenborn (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Findley (R)	N	Y	X	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y
McClory (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	A	F	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A
Michel (R)	N	A	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	N	N	Y
Reid (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Springer (R)	F	Y	N	X	X	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

### CHICAGO

Annunzio (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Dawson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y
Kluczy'ski (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	A	N	A	Y	A	Y	A	N
Murphy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
O'Hara (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y	A	Y	A	X
Pucinski (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Ronan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Ros'nk-ski (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	A	Y	N
Yates (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	Y	A	Y	N
Collier (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Derwinski (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	X	Y	X	X	X	F	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y
Rumsfeld (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	A	N	N	A	F	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

### MISSOURI

Bolling (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	A	Y	A	N
Hull (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	F	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hungate (D)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Ichord (D)	N	Y	A	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	F	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Jones (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	A	A	A	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Karsten (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Randall (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Curtis (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N
Hall (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

## U.S. SENATE VOTES

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Douglas (D. Ill)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Dirksen (R. Ill)	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	F	N
Long (D. Mo)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	Y	N
Symington (D. Mo)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	F	Y
	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	BB	CC	
Douglas (D. Ill)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y	N
Dirksen (R. Ill)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	A	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Long (D. Mo.)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Symington (D. Mo)	Y	Y	Y	F	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	

(R) **CONFIRMS COLEMAN.** Confirmation of the President's nomination of James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, to the federal 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Agreed to 76-8: R 24-3; D 52-5 (ND 34-5; SD 18-0), July 26, 1965.

(S) **S J Res 66: DEFEATS APPORTIONMENT AMENDMENT.** Proposes a constitutional amendment to permit one house of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography, political subdivisions, and population. Rejected 57-39: R 29-3; D 28-36 (ND 10-33; SD 18-3), Aug. 4, 1965.

(T) **HR 6927: CREATES HOUSING DEPARTMENT.** Establishes a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to be headed by a Secretary; transferring to the Secretary all the functions, powers and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and Federal National Mortgage Assn.; and specifying other powers of the Department. Passed 57-33: R 10-19; D 47-14; (ND 39-2; SD 8-12), Aug. 11, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(U) **HR 8639: REJECTS EXTRA FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.** Amendment to appropriation of over \$2 billion an increase from \$5 million to \$8 million for HEW civil rights educational activities. Rejected 18-66: R 4-26; D 14-40 (ND 12-23; SD 2-17), Aug. 12, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(V) **HR 8283: NO GOVERNOR'S VETO IN POVERTY BILL.** Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1965 to retain the Governor's veto power over community action programs. Rejected 42-43: R 27-1; D 15-43 (ND 4-35; SD 11-7), Aug. 16, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(W) **HR 8283: APPROVES POVERTY BILL.** Authorizing appropriations of \$1.65 billion for the Government's anti-poverty program in fiscal 1966 and making other changes. Passed 61-29: R 9-20; D 52-9 (ND 41-1; SD 11-8), Aug. 19, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(X) **HR 9221: BILLIONS FOR ARMS.** Appropriates \$46,877,063,000 for the Defense Department in fiscal 1966. Passed 89-0, Aug. 25, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(Y) **HR 9567: PASSES EDUCATION AID.** Authorizes a five-year (fiscal 1966-70) program of assistance to institutions of higher education, to students attending such institutions, and to elementary-secondary school teachers. Passed 79-3; R 25-0; D 54-3 (ND 39-0; SD 15-3) Sept. 2, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(Z) **HR 2580: REVISES IMMIGRATION SYSTEM.** Passage of amendment to the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate the national origins quota and to set general priorities for the admission of immigrants. Passed 76-18: R 24-3; D 52-15 (ND 43-2; SD 9-13), Sept. 22, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(AA) **HR 10871: PASS FOREIGN AID.** Appropriates \$3,143,000,000 for foreign assistance and \$714,188,000 for related programs in fiscal 1966. Passed 59-22: R 15-8; D 44-14 (ND 37-3; SD 7-11), Sept. 23, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(BB) **HR 77: REJECT CLOTURE FOR 14(B).** Motion that the Senate invoke cloture on debate on Mansfield's motion to make HR 77, for repeal of Section 14(b), the pending business of the Senate. Cloture motion rejected 45-47: R 5-26; D 40-21 (ND 36-5; SD 4-16), Oct. 11, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(CC) **HR 11588: UPHOLDS RENT SUPPLEMENTS.** Amendment to delete the \$360,000 appropriation for rent supplements and the \$12 million contract authority for new dwellings under the program in fiscal 1966. Rejected 37-45: R 22-5; D 15-40 (ND 3-34; SD 12-6), Oct. 20, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

## U.S. HOUSE BILLS

(A) **HR 7750: PASSES FOREIGN AID.** Authorizes appropriations of \$3,367,670,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966. Passed 249-148: R 44-86; D 205-62 (ND 167-12; SD 38-50), May 25, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(B) **HR 8371: REDUCES TAXES.** Passage of the bill to reduce excise taxes by \$4.8

billion between July 1, 1965, and Jan. 1, 1969, (including \$3.4 billion in fiscal 1966), resulting in the elimination of all federal excise taxes by 1969 except user, regulatory and sumptuary levies; and to make permanent sumptuary taxes and a 5 percent tax on commercial air travel, which were temporary under existing law. Passed 401-6: R 129-2; D 272-4 (ND 183-2, SD 89-2), June 2, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(C) **HR 6927: CREATES NEW DEPARTMENT.** Passage of the bill establishing a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to be headed by a Secretary, transferring to the Secretary all the functions, powers and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association; and specifying other powers of the Department. Passed 217-184: R 9-118; D 208-66 (ND 170-10; SD 38-56), June 16, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(D) **HR 7984: LIMITS RENT SUPPLEMENTS.** Amendment to Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 to limit rent supplement payments to persons who were eligible under existing income standards for public housing, to reduce the appropriations authorization for supplements and to provide recipients of supplements with the opportunity to obtain options to purchase their homes. Accepted 240-179: R 4-131; D 236-48 (ND 182-5; SD 54-43), June 30, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(E) **HR 7984: PASSES HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT.** Provides rent supplements to low-income families and extending and amending laws relating to public housing, urban renewal and community facilities. Passed 245-169: R 26-109; D 219-60 (ND 176-8; SD 43-52), June 30, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(F) **HR 6400: PASSES VOTING RIGHTS ACT.** Suspends the use of literacy tests or similar voter qualifications and authorizes the appointment of federal voting examiners to order the registration of Negroes in states and voting districts whose voter activity had fallen below certain specified levels; the bill also imposed a ban on the use of poll taxes as a voter qualification in any election. Passed 333-85: R 112-24; D 221-61 (ND 188-1; SD 33-60), July 9, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(G) **S 559: CIGARETTE WARNING.** Adoption of the conference report on the Federal Cigarette Labeling Act to require that cigarette packages and cartons bear this statement: "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health;" prohibit any other warning requirement on the packages and prohibit until July 1, 1969, any requirements that cigarette advertising include a similar health warning. Adopted 285-103: R 115-15; D 170-88 (ND 87-85; SD 83-3), July 13, 1965. The President did not take a position on this bill.

(H) **HR 8283: INCREASES POVERTY FUND.** Authorizes appropriations of \$1.9 billion for the Government's anti-poverty program in fiscal 1966 and making other changes in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Passed 245-158: R 24-110; D 221-48 (ND 176-2; SD 45-46), July 22, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(I) **HR 77: REPEALS 14(B).** Passage of the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting state right-to-work laws under which the union shop is prohibited. Passed 221-203: R 21-117; D 200-86 (ND 182-8; SD 18-78), July 28, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(J) **S 1648: AID FOR DEPRESSED AREAS.** Passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, establishing a five-year, \$3.25 billion program of grants and loans for public works, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas. Passed 246-138: R 31-93; D 215-45 (ND 158-12; SD 57-33), Aug. 12, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(K) **HR 2580: REVISES IMMIGRATION SYSTEM.** Amends the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act to eliminate the national origins quota and to set general priorities for the admission of immigrants to the United States. Passed 318-95: R 109-25; D 209-70 (ND 179-8; SD 30-62), Aug. 25, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(L) **HR 9567: PASSES EDUCATION AID.** Higher Education Act of 1965, authorizing a five-year (fiscal 1966-70) program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions.

Passed 367-22: R 113-13; D 254-9 (ND 176-0; SD 78-9), Aug. 26, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(M) **HR 10871: APPROVES FOREIGN AID.** Appropriates \$3,285,000,000 for foreign assistance and \$716,453,000 for related programs in fiscal 1966. Passed 239-143: R 40-81; D 199-62 (ND 163-10; SD 36-52), Sept. 8, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(N) **H Res 506: CALL UP TITLE VII.** Open rule for floor consideration of HR 10065, a bill to broaden and strengthen Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act banning employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. (The resolution was considered under the 21-day rule which permitted bills to be brought to the House floor for action by a committee member when a rule had not been granted by the Rules Committee). Adopted 259-121: R 76-51; D 183-70 (ND 166-2; SD 17-68), Sept. 13, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(O) **H Res 478: CALL UP ARTS BILL.** Open rule for floor consideration of HR 9460, a bill establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Considered under the 21-day rule—see above.) Adopted 260-114: R 59-65; D 201-49 (ND 168-2; SD 33-47), Sept. 13, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(P) **HR 9460: REFUSE TO KILL ARTS BILL.** Motion to recommit (kill) National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Bill to provide federal assistance to the visual and performing arts and the humanities. Rejected 128-251: R 79-44; D 49-207 (ND 5-170; SD 44-37), Sept. 15, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

(Q) **H Res 585: UPHOLDS MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION.** Dismisses a challenge to the 1964 election of Mississippi's five-man House delegation. Adopted 228-143: R 87-34; D 141-109 (ND 54-109; SD 87-0), Sept. 17, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(R) **H Res 560: ENDORSES USE OF FORCE IN WESTERN HEMISPHERE.** Expresses the sense of the House that in the event of "the intervention of international Communism, directly or indirectly, however disguised, in any American State," any one or more Western Hemisphere countries could "take steps to forestall or combat intervention, domination, control and colonization in whatever form, by the subversive forces known as international Communism and its agencies in the Western Hemisphere." Adopted 312-52: R 117-3; D 195-49 (ND 113-49; SD 82-0), Sept. 20, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(S) **S 306: CONTROLS AIR POLLUTION.** Authorizes HEW to set standards to control the emission of air pollutants from automobiles and to authorize \$92.5 million during fiscal 1966-69 for research on and development of methods to dispose of solid wastes. Passed 294-4: R 90-2; D 204-2 (ND 135-0; SD 69-2), Sept. 24, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(T) **HR 4644: HOME RULE FOR D.C.** Provides for election of a Washington, D.C. Charter Board, if D.C. voters favored home rule in a referendum, to draw up a charter which would be submitted to D.C. voters in another referendum and, if approved, would take effect in 90 days if not disapproved by either chamber of Congress. Passed 283-117: R 84-42; D 197-75 (ND 174-8; SD 23-67), Sept. 29, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(U) **HR 6519: BOOST FUNDS FOR ST. LOUIS MEMORIAL.** Authorizes an additional \$6 million (for a \$23,250,000 total) for completion of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Mo. Passed 250-12: R 77-8; D 173-4 (ND 112-3; SD 61-1), Oct. 1, 1965. The President did not take a position.

(V) **S 2084: PROMOTES HIGHWAY BEAUTY.** Authorizes appropriations of \$325 million in fiscal 1966-67 for federal-state programs for control, or removal of billboards and junkyards along interstate and primary highways and for federal payments to states to cover costs of landscaping and scenic development of federal-aid highways. Passed 245-138: R 26-89; D 219-49 (ND 159-21; SD 60-28), Oct. 7, 1965. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President.

(W) **HR 11588: KILLS RENT SUPPLEMENTS.** Amendment to delete the \$180,000 appropriation for rent supplements and the \$6 million contract authority for new dwellings under the program in fiscal 1966. Accepted 185-162: R 99-2; D 86-160 (ND 24-141; SD 62-19), Oct. 14, 1965. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President.

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## The Day

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## The Communist

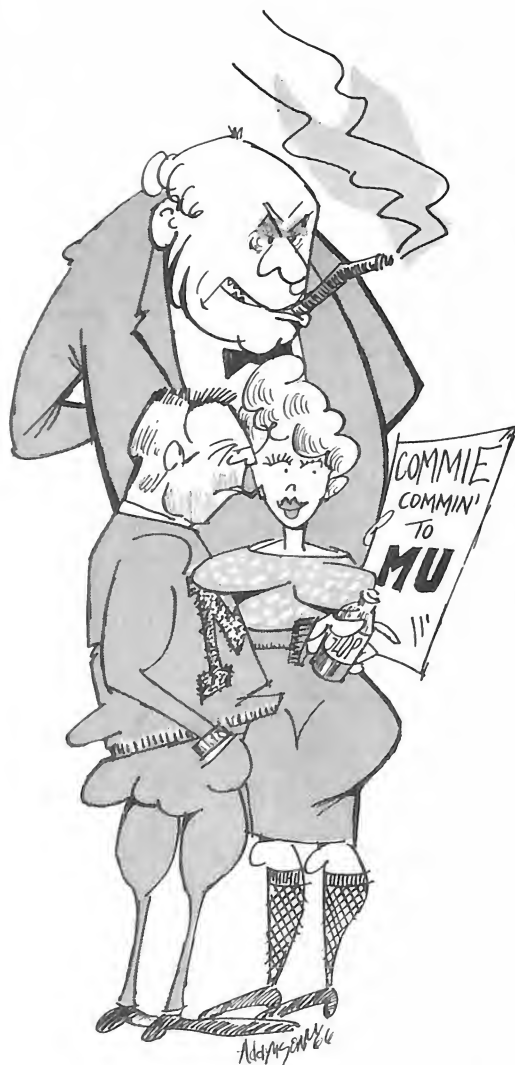
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## Came to Town

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by John S. Garrity

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John S. Garrity is a student at the University of Missouri.

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LIFE at the University of Missouri offers many diversions. Foremost among these are Stephens and Christian Colleges for girls. And, nearly as interesting, there is a richly varied schedule of activities and special events. There are football games and homecoming, Greek Week, St. Pat's Week, Barnwarmin', Savitar Frolics, and Journalism Week. But one event last spring brought a festival spirit to the Columbia campus unsurpassed that year. I refer to the day the Communist came to town.

Communists don't come to M.U. often. It is rumored that the faculty has been infiltrated by Marxists, and civil rights advocates are frowned upon, but the University hasn't had a card-carrying Communist around to walk the streets and amaze the populace with his ability to talk and read. To be sure, there are faculty members who will not shrink back in horror at the mention of TVA, but the Board of Curators has never really been able to sink its teeth into a real Communist.

The student body hasn't shown too much concern, but this could be misleading, for the student body rarely shows concern about anything. Many of us learned several years ago that Communism was very evil, so the matter has been dropped. The beer flows free at the Italian Village and the Heidelberg, and our parents can relax with the assurance that their children are not being exposed to radical ideas. Some faculty members wonder if we are being exposed to any ideas at all.

Such an atmosphere, of course, does not contribute to much stimulation of thought. To most students, intellectual debate is a term referring to the frequent arguments over Dan Devine's salary for coaching the football team. In fact, the Communist would never have been invited to this campus on his own merits. It took another controversy to bring him here, a controversy over the administration's speaker policy.

The administration is certainly not despotic in its approval of speakers. The Missouri Students Association, the student government, invites people like Bennett Cerf and the administration stamps approval as a matter of routine. Norman Thomas spoke here this year and the only controversy was over who would have to sit on the platform with a Socialist.

At any rate, MSA went its merry way signing speakers until James Farmer, leader of the Congress of Racial Equality, was invited. Sud-

denly, the administration whipped out a "Balanced Speaker Policy." If Farmer was going to speak for CORE, another speaker would have to be invited to present the opposition view. This meant that MSA had to invite somebody like Governor George Wallace. Wallace, unfortunately, intimated that he was involved in a local insurrection of Yankee meddlers and couldn't make an appearance.

This controversy filled a void in life at M.U. A Student Rights Movement was established to fight the speaker policy and assure Farmer's appearance. The movement was originally organized by several students and faculty members concerned about the lack of communication between students and administration, but after several days, a power play threw control to a more "militant" element in the organization. The founders resigned and student Steve Fuchs rebuilt SRM around the five or six professional pickets on campus.

Suddenly, the free speaker policy was only part of the controversy. SRM charged the administration with "terror and intimidation" in its use of liquor and housing inspectors, and charged police brutality, presumably because the cop in the library wears a gun. The University confounded the movement by accommodating nearly every demand. The off-campus housing codes were scrapped, a free speaker policy was granted, to be effective in September, and Farmer appeared without a balancing speaker.

THE administration, of course, had fooled the students by complying. SRM was left without a cause and it looked like the pickets were out of a job. Then Fuchs came to the rescue. As president of the New Fabians, a left-wing student organization which embarrasses the legislators in Jefferson City, Fuchs decided to test the speaker policy right away — before it went into effect. He invited Claude Lightfoot, a former official in the American Communist Party, to include M. U. on his lecture tour. Lightfoot accepted.

Nobody really knew who he was or what he wanted to say here. One rumor stated that he was an 88-year-old Negro. Fuchs added further appeal to the affair by explaining that the Fabians weren't really interested in what Lightfoot had to say, but had invited him purely for test purposes.

The fated Wednesday evening came and several hundred of the campus' 16,000 students were on hand, as well as a few townspeople

FOCUS/Midwest



who wanted to see one of the evil enemy in person (including several little old ladies shocked by the decadence of public education). In addition, several members of the state legislature were on hand to judge the affair.

Lightfoot actually was a Negro, but he turned out to be in his fifties. Fuchs got the proceedings under way by reviewing the accomplishments of the Fabians and SRM. "You ain't seen nothin' yet" he promised. He was right.

Lightfoot had apparently decided that Columbia wasn't the place to push the party line. Instead, he talked about the challenge of underdeveloped nations. The response was amazing. He sometimes intimated that the United States had erred slightly in its handling of the poorer nations, and at these points he was interrupted by laughter, boos, hisses, and cries of "clown!" He analyzed the crisis in terms of nationalism and neutrality that even staunch conservatives would have to accept, but once again he was greeted with hoots.

Then Lightfoot made his fatal mistake. "The United States is the most hated nation in the world," he said in his creeping, splintered manner, and the house came down. When the racket subsided, Lightfoot reminded the audience that this was a University and that college students should be mature enough to listen to conflicting ideas with respect, if not approval. This appeal was ineffective.

The real spectacle of the evening was the question and answer session. Possibly mindful of the presence of state legislators, the audience initiated a contest to see who could direct the most insulting question to the Communist. Occasionally some infidel would break up the proceedings with an intelligent question, but the general tenor was one of righteousness in the face of the enemy. Nobody asked Lightfoot about the membership and policies of the Communist Party in America, and nobody asked why he wasn't a Socialist since he believed pure Communism was impossible in America. Instead, the audience asked him to justify the totalitarian regimes in the Soviet Union, China, and the satellite countries, which, of course, he couldn't do. The crowd stood up one by one and outlined the outrages of the Berlin Wall, the restriction of free speech and travel in Communist nations, and the threat of world domination. There really wasn't much Lightfoot could say. As a moderate Communist, he

was being asked to prove to the audience that all the evils of the world were not Communist inspired — and to an audience that wouldn't listen if he tried!

A colored student in the back of the auditorium asked, "Isn't it bad enough in this country being black without being Red too?"

"It's bad enough being black," Lightfoot replied, "without the added burden of being yellow." Six or seven people clapped and the others muttered to themselves angrily.

Finally, a law student gained the floor and shouted to Lightfoot that his speech was "entertainment, and only entertainment" and that only a lunatic would listen to anything he said. Most of the audience was standing by now. Lightfoot's bodyguard whispered something in his ear and the two hastily ducked out a side door and sped away in a waiting car. The evening was over.

The affair was forgotten rather quickly by the students, who were occupied with skate-boarding and finishing off Columbia's liquor supply before the semester ended. The *Columbia Missourian* waited two weeks, to formulate policy no doubt, and printed a short editorial congratulating the citizens of Missouri for their display of healthy American antagonism toward Communism. The New Fabians met the next week to discuss the talk, but the issue died out on campus.

The issue has not, however, died in Jefferson City. The legislators are grouped into two classes: those who are proud of the way the audience behaved and those who are still shocked that a Communist was allowed to talk to our impressionable youth. The second group has its eye on the Fabians and some of the faculty members. If there is a Communist movement on campus, they feel, there is one sure way to stop it — cut University appropriations to the bare minimum necessary to enlarge the football stadium and build a livestock pavilion to serve rural Missouri. After all, why pour money into an institution which teaches Socialism and revolution?

In my mind, the University is faced with an unusual challenge. The faculty and the administration must foster an educational program which emphasizes ideas over beer. The outlook is bleak. As for me, I'm reading plenty of college bulletins. I hear that the curators are thinking of raising the tuition to subscribers of *The New Republic* and *The Progressive*.



# Rockwell Charms Northwestern

Lewis Z. Koch

THERE was much laughter, much applause in Evanston on December 6: George Lincoln Rockwell, Commander-In-Chief of the American Nazi Party spoke before twelve hundred Northwestern University students.

Outside of the capacity-filled auditorium, one Semitic looking young man marched in protest; he carried a sign: *Remember Dachau, Auschwitz, 6,000,000 Dead. Could It Happen Here?*

Inviting a controversial figure to speak at a university is an old student practice. Once before, two years ago, some Northwestern students tried to invite Rockwell to speak but his appearance was forbidden by the University. This time (post-Berkeley), the University permitted the student government to invite Rockwell to appear before their "mock House Committee on Un-American Activities."

One thousand students were turned away from the opportunity to hear Rockwell. The last turnaway crowd for a political speaker at Northwestern came out for the appearance of Senator Everett Dirksen praising the candidacy of Barry Goldwater.

There was much laughter, much excitement from the overflow crowd of twenty-two hundred students. No one other than Northwestern students and faculty were to be allowed in the hall. The television stations sent camera units to photograph the students as the crush became almost violent. Three entrances were opened for the students and each entering person had to show a student identification card. The crowd swayed back and forth in streams as they neared the door. The press was so great that one didn't have to keep his feet on the ground.

Once inside, a girl remarked breathlessly, "I don't believe I actual-

ly lived through that crowd."

Outside the one picket still marched, carrying his sign: *Remember Dachau, Auschwitz, 6,000,000 Dead. Could It Happen Here?*

The inside of Cahn Auditorium looked like a picture out of a college catalogue: there were girls with straight brown hair, straight blond hair, wearing camel's hair or cloth coats and white or pink or blue or red or green blouses with peter pan collars and sweaters every color of the rainbow; the young men wore white or blue shirts with button-down collars and sweaters or sport coats from Brooks Brothers or Baskin's and rep ties from England. There was a sea of white shining faces, freshly scrubbed, the girls with a touch of lipstick and a blush of excitement on their cheeks. They were really doing something important, they were actually going to listen to a real Nazi!

Outside the single picket still marched: *Remember Dachau, Auschwitz.*

ROCKWELL began his appearance with a fifteen-minute speech. He sat at a long table with three students to the right of him, three to the left. This was "HUAC." In the audience, the representatives from the "states" listened carefully.

Rockwell was mild (for Rockwell) in his opening remarks. There were the usual statements about the Jews and Negroes and the need for a white Christian America. The audience was rather silent; they were waiting for the questioning to begin.

Kathleen Kaitis is a sophomore in the school of Liberal Arts. She is nineteen years old, a member of Alpha Omicron Pi and undecided about what she wants to study as a major subject. As Rockwell's interrogator she prepared for his appearance before "HUAC" by reading his autobiography, material from the American Nazi Party and "some ACLU literature." With this preparation and background she went into intellectual combat with George Lincoln Rockwell — and got murdered. It wasn't that she pronounced Bolshevism as "Bolshoism" or Marxism as "Markism" nor her failure to question his use of fifty-year old statistics "proving Negro inferiority" or the necessity for a "large gas chamber" when elected president in 1972, but rather her total and complete lack of political orientation, sophistication, and logic.

"She's so bad, she's making him look good," a student next to me remarked.

She was also unprepared, as was the audience, for Rockwell's sense of humor. Northwestern students roundly laughed when Rockwell suggested turning over Brooklyn and Miami Beach to the Jews; his "opinion" of the new civil rights law ("Burn it.") brought scattered applause from a few of the more conservative students.

The "states" questioned Rockwell next. Their questions were sharper, more incisive, but Rockwell had been through this before. (1962: San Diego State College, Hunter College, Carlton College; 1963: University of Colorado, Central Missouri State College, University of Chicago and Shimer College; 1964: University of Kansas, University of Michigan, Eastern Michigan University, University of Minnesota; 1965: Antioch College.)

Rockwell has become adept at handling the questions; he also *knew* his audience.

A strong "hawk" statement about U.S. involvement in Vietnam brought loud applause and cheers from the student audience. Rockwell praised the gathering. He told them that every place he speaks, the audience is told not to applaud, not to laugh, not to boo or hiss; only one college was able to carry that "inhuman" effort off — Antioch College.

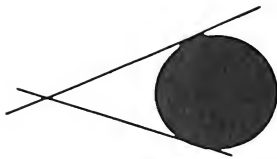
Questions, written down on cards by the audience and passed forward, were put to Rockwell. These were even better but it was really too late: it was Rockwell's night.

The audience was asked to stay for a discussion by two members of the Jewish War Veterans and two professors. Two thirds of the audience left. The Jewish War Veterans offered a series of weak "rejoinders" to the things Rockwell had said, and the professors offered in-depth liberal comments which were dutifully applauded by the remaining students.

But the star of the evening had been George Lincoln Rockwell. Lots of laughs, lots of applause, it had been a very exciting evening, adventuresome, different, daring, significant, neat! The next day, I asked the faculty advisor to the student government what he thought of Rockwell's appearance. He said, "It was a learning experience."

So was World War II.

Lewis Z. Koch has written for Chicago newspapers, Ramparts, and other publications. For three years he was the producer of the Chicago At Random TV show.



## THE RIGHT WING

A recent issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

### AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION

Former U.S. Rep. Donald C. Bruce (R. Ind.) announced he resigned as chairman of the Union because of the physical strain in performing his duties as chairman, for which he was paid \$25,000 a year. The *Baltimore Sun*, however, reported that Bruce was leaving because of a disagreement among the board of directors over whether Bruce should have accepted an invitation to speak at a Chicago conservative meeting at which the White Citizens Council was represented.

### AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION

The ACA released its "ratings" for the first five months of 1965. Only four freshman representatives, all Southern Republicans, received a perfect (100 per cent) score.

### THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

The *Columbia Journalism Review* reports that the Council distributes free of charge to radio stations the Washington Report, which is underwritten by the Schick Safety Razor Company.

### ANGLICAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reports that Rev. Dr. Carleton B. French of Alton and George C. Schneller, a chiropractor, are helping organize a congregation of 45 St. Louisans "seeking a church without a liberal theology." Bishop James P. Dees of North Carolina, who left the Episcopal Church in 1963, heads up the church. Schneller declared that each church is autonomous within the national body and that it has no racial barriers nor recognizes that any

political or social issues have a place in the religious organization. Schneller left the Episcopal Church because it promotes "the programs of the National Council of Churches" and of the "international Communist conspiracy." (Later, Schneller resigned because Bishop Dees reprimanded him for stating that there are no racial barriers.)

### ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

The AAPS, which includes leading Birchites, has engaged upon a mounting crusade to convince physicians to boycott the Medicare program for the elderly. The national group is headquartered in Chicago.

### THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

The *Review of the News*, a new pocket-size weekly magazine, published by Correction, Please! Inc., in Belmont, Massachusetts, is put out by the Birch Society although the magazine makes no mention of this connection.

In Missouri, state wide protests against the nomination of Mrs. Miller H. Fink of Centralia for third vice president of the state PTA were successful this fall. While Mrs. Fink denied membership in the Birch Society, the protests generally assumed that she represented the Society's point of view.

Writing in the *Chicago Daily Defender*, Jackie Robinson reports of a new Birch-front, TACT, which claims that it "will expose the Civil Rights fraud, thereby breaking the back of the Communist conspiracy."

### CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

Among speakers at the Crusade's August convention were Robert Welch of the Birch Society, Gen. Edwin A. Walker, Tom Anderson a Birch leader and Harry Everingham of We! The People. A hypothetical "think-piece" contracted by the U.S. Air Force with North American Aviation, is cause of the latest hysteria by Billy James Hargis which he is exploiting for fundraising purposes to the hilt. The report calls for an analysis of "possible" world events which might result from the adoption of one or more arms control proposals to provide the Air Force as one basis for planning requirements. The plan arbitrarily projects various world events. Hargis claims that these "projections" are actually "predictions" and with the help of the United Press International distributed an "expose" charging a "diabolical plan to disarm

the United States and abolish our national sovereignty by 1976." The "expose" was originally broached to newspapers in Wichita, Tulsa, New York City, etc., but was dismissed by them. (In 1964, the Christian Crusade took in \$834,779 in contributions and sales.)

### CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Speaking in St. Louis, chairman Kent Courtney suggested that America could "win" the Vietnam war by letting Nationalist China, Japan, and the Philippines attack mainland China.

### CONSTITUTION PARTY OF MISSOURI

The Party attacks as the dominant evil in America the Council on Foreign Relations which is supposed to control both major American Parties. Primitive and crude pamphlets, published by the so-called "Patriotic Publications Review and Digest" in St. Louis, favor establishment of a "Christian Nation" and repeal of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Mental Health Act, the Federal Income tax, suspension of immigration, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and many other international agreements.

### CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The Committee spent \$319,825 for lobbying activities in 1964, more than any other organization. The group opposed the 1964 civil rights act, and went out of business when the bill was passed.

### THE COUNCIL OF 1776

What appears to be a one-man operation, the Council of 1776 is headed up by Maj. Arch E. Roberts, formerly an aide to Gen. Edwin A. Walker. The purpose of the Council is to "destroy" the United Nations.

### FLICK-REEDY EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

Jim Stewart, program coordinator of the Foundation, is raising funds on his own to help defray legal expenses of Otto Otepka, former employee of the U.S. State Department who has been charged with conduct unbecoming his position. The Flick-Reedy enterprise is a key center for rightist propaganda in the Chicago area. Stewart has created the "American Defense Fund" for that purpose.



## THE FREE SOCIETY ASSOCIATION

Barry Goldwater's FSA, the new political arm of right wing Republicans, appears to be using the mailing lists of Human Events, the Liberty Lobby, and other rightist groups.

## FREEDOM PRESS

The California hate sheet is published by William Drake, an attorney and great grandson of Governor Truman Polk of Missouri, who also served two terms in the U.S. Senate. During a recent California speaking tour, Phyllis Schlafly, prominent Illinois Republican and first vice president of the National Federation of Republican Women, used this publication to advertise her itinerary. Another arch-conservative institution which uses the *Freedom Press* to tell its story is FEE (Freedom for Economic Education).

## GOSPEL TRACT SOCIETY, Inc.

Lester L. Buttram, the Lee's Summit (Mo.) president-founder of a tract publishing enterprise, declared in a recent newsletter that they "publish the most startling and authenticated tracts and folders exposing the National Council of Churches, Communism and everything that smells of liberalism and modernism."

## KU KLUX KLAN

Norman H. Anderson, Missouri Attorney General, has started an investigation into the activities of the KKK in Missouri. The announcement came after the *Post-Dispatch* reported that at least a dozen KKK units have been established in St. Louis City and County. Organizational efforts are also being made in East St. Louis and Southern Illinois, and in Jefferson County (Mo.). Meanwhile, Illinois Secretary of State Paul Powell announced that any application to obtain a not-for-profit charter for the KKK would be denied. Membership blanks have been distributed throughout Chicago's south suburbs.

## LET FREEDOM RING

Sponsors of "Let Freedom Ring," an extremist propaganda operation, will not be able to remain anonymous while using telephone automatic answering service, it was revealed by the Anti-Defamation League. The decision was a response by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to a complaint filed by the League with the FCC. Messages recorded by "Let Freedom Ring" and material from the John Birch Society frequently overlap. The Chicago

message talks of "18,000 policemen assaulted" and "57 murdered" tying in with the Birchite campaign "Support Your Local Police." Other Illinois communities carrying the recorded messages are: Bedford, Decatur, and Calumet City. A station is also operating in Kansas City. The telephone program was founded by a Florida doctor and Birch Society member, William Campbell Douglas.

## MISSOURI CONGRESS OF CONSERVATIVES

About 150 conservatives organized a Missouri arm of a potential national party — should such a party be organized. The convention was called by Chairman Mark Andrews Sr., a St. Louis printing equipment manufacturer, and Secretary Floyd G. Kitchen, a leader of the National States Rights Party. The participants included delegates from Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri. Noel Smith, editor of the Springfield (Mo.) Baptist Bible Tribune was one of the speakers. Kitchen and Lyman Bergmanis were appointed to a temporary state committee until a national party is organized. The Conservative Party is now on the ballot in New York, Texas, Iowa, and Kansas. (Andrews is the Missouri chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee.)

## THE NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reports that the NSRP has formed a St. Louis youth organization, the American Racial Nationalists, which was confirmed by Allen O. Kern, Missouri chairman. Boy members wear a uniform of black trousers, black shoes, white shirt, and black tie, plus armband. The purpose of the youth groups is to oppose "the Jew-liberal-Communist fronts in high schools." On another occasion, NSRP leaders referred to the FBI as "the Gestapo of the Jewish Communist conspiracy," praised Adolf Hitler, and recommended hanging for any white person selling "a piece of property to a Negro in an all-white neighborhood." The NSRP claims that its organizers are making good progress in Murphysboro, Du Quoin, Pinckneyville, and Herrin, all in Illinois.

## SOLDIERS OF THE CROSS

Kenneth Goff, former associate of Gerald L. K. Smith, is director of the Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute and Bible School at Englewood, Colorado. Completion of the prescribed courses in the curriculum (which ranges from: "The United

Nations and the World Revolutionary Movement," "Karate," "Soul Winning," to "The Bible's Answer to Communism") entitles students 16 years or older to a diploma. Secretary of the Institute is Ruby Simmerman, and School Director is Earl Southard.

## WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

The Council was denied the use of the St. Louis Kiel Auditorium when it announced that a public meeting featuring Sheriff Jim Clark as speaker would bar Negroes. Rev. W. C. Barlow, president of the St. Louis chapter, announced earlier that the Council is attempting to form Missouri chapters in Kansas City, Jefferson City, Springfield, Cape Girardeau, and St. Joseph. Chapters now exist in St. Louis and Columbia, including members from Belleville and Cahokia in Illinois.

## YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

With the blessings of Sen. Strom Thurmond and Ronald Reagan, the YAF has engaged in an unprecedented membership and activities program in 1965. Now in its fifth year, it claims to have 40,000 members and planned to start 1,000 new chapters on campuses by December 1965. Senator Fulbright called the YAF an (extremist and vigilante group.) The following are among the 39 members of Congress on the National Advisory Board of YAF: From Illinois, John B. Anderson, Harold B. Collier, Robert H. Michel, and Charlotte T. Reid; and from Missouri: Durward G. Hall. In recent months the group campaigned against the repeal of the right-to-work section of the Taft-Harley law and against trade by American companies with Communist nations.

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## Who Copied?

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Charles B. Blackmar

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WHEN comparing a key statement in the written works of W. Cleon Skousen, Robert Welch, John A. Stormer, and H. L. Hunt, the inevitable conclusion is that one or all are guilty of the literary crime of either plagiarism or fabrication.

If it is plagiarism and the later writers simply copied the earlier ones, this is an offense not only against the authors but against the readers as

*continued on page 35*

## Legislator Defends Assembly's Record

In Vol. IV, No. 1-2, FOCUS/Midwest published "Educator Censors Civic Fathers," by Raymond E. Callahan, professor of education at Washington University. The article, which was republished in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, caused considerable comment. The following is a response by Missouri Representative Donald J. Gralike, and a rebuttal by Prof. Callahan.

RECENTLY some of our educators have been turning the spotlight on public education in our area. They have stated that little leadership has come from political leaders and that there is barely enough money to keep the educational ship afloat.

Those of us in elective offices have been accused of not being concerned about public schools and of concentrating on other types of legislation and taxation.

Raymond E. Callahan, a faculty member of the Graduate Institute of Education, Washington University, has stated that the "power to decide what amount of money we will spend on education should be taken out of the hands of the voters."

It has been pointed out that for the 1963-64 school year, Missouri's expenditure per pupil amounted to an average of \$419, while the average for the nation was \$455. It is now suggested that this amount could be supplemented by a sales tax or income tax increase earmarked for the sole purpose of education.

A picture has been painted that shows our schools in dire need of additional revenue. The intimation is that we should tax the people to provide every child with an excellent education because it is morally right, because it is socially necessary, and because it is in the economic interest of the state to do so.

I find no argument in the figures

that are used by the educators only objection to the way they are presented.

First, I would like to say that in the past three sessions of the Missouri Legislature there have been many needed proposals passed and are now law. These included increases in the school foundation program, establishment of Junior College and Special Districts for the Handicapped, broadening of pension programs for school personnel, enabling legislation for vocational education in St. Louis County, etc.

The fact that Missouri is spending an average of \$419 per year (1963-64) on each pupil is correct, but when we examine the entire structure we uncover these facts for St. Louis County. For the same period, we had 153,206 pupils enrolled in Kindergarten through grade twelve. The average tax rate in St. Louis County was approximately \$3.31 per \$100 valuation. When this is multiplied by the total assessed valuation we find that approximately 68 million dollars was collected from local property tax for education. The State of Missouri contributed an additional 18 million dollars for this same period and another three million dollars was obtained from the county government.

When we compile all of the facts concerning the financial data of the St. Louis County school districts, we find that for the 1963-64 school year, we spent \$508.34 per pupil on the average. The national average for the same period was \$455. This means that we spend approximately 10 per cent more for education in St. Louis County than the rest of the nation per pupil.

Both civic and political leaders are aware that a democratic public school system is one that offers equal educational opportunity to all pupils regardless of individual family income or assets. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in St. Louis County. When we examine the twenty-five school districts in our county, we find that the tax rate varied from a high of \$3.90 per \$100 valuation in Kinloch to a low of \$2.65 in Clayton. At the same time, we find that Clayton spent \$949.49 per pupil for the school year while Kinloch spent \$269.11. This is hardly equality and it shows that what is needed most in St. Louis County is equalization of school revenues. This, of course, will require the support of the various school districts both through the offices of the school superintendents and the school boards.

There is also room for more con-

solidation of school districts. While the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County have comparable population, we find St. Louis with one school district and St. Louis County with twenty-five. It has often been said that St. Louis County with its ninety some municipalities is wasting tax money on duplication of administration. If this theory is correct then certainly the same applies to twenty-five school districts. This, of course, would mean a reduction in the number of school superintendents and other administrative personnel.

School districts often justify proposed property tax increases with the statement that state aid to education is inadequate and in order to make ends meet the residents of the school districts will have to increase their local tax rate.

The problem is that most people are not aware of the fact that in order to increase state aid to education a state tax increase of some type would need to be enacted. The additional revenue that would be collected in St. Louis and St. Louis County would not in its entirety return to the St. Louis area. Many counties in rural Missouri now receive more in state revenue than they pay, so obviously if they are operating at a deficit they would receive additional funds collected in the metropolitan areas.

This leaves our educational leaders with a decision. Should we increase local taxes, with all revenue to be used locally, or should we increase state taxes, and have more metropolitan taxes sent to rural Missouri?

I, too, agree that increases in property taxes have just about reached the saturation point. In all probability, a metropolitan income tax for educational purposes should be implemented in the event that additional funds are needed. A special sales tax for this purpose would be unfair. A person with an income of \$5000 per year is, as a matter of speaking, paying a larger per cent of sales tax in relation to income than a person in the \$25,000 per year bracket. For the simple reason that the \$5000 per year family must spend 75 per cent of that income in retail sales. The \$25,000 per year family may only spend 20 per cent in retail sales and still maintain a higher standard of living. This, of course, has always been the main opposition to sales taxes.

I find no objection to being above the national average in expenditure per pupil per year. While today we are 10 per cent above the norm, a

higher percentage is even more desirable.

Education cannot be measured in dollars and cents, and the investment that we make in our youth today will certainly prove itself to have been a wise investment in the future.

This is the primary reason why I introduced the vocational education bill in the House of Representatives last January. It is also the reason that the legislators from the St. Louis area supported increases in the school

foundation program in the 72nd and 73rd General Assemblies.

I do object, however and rather strongly, to implications that metropolitan legislators have been negligent in the field of education. Upon examination of past school legislation, I believe it will be found that they were in the forefront in sponsoring proposals for educational purposes.

Those in school administrative positions should make these points clear to the taxpayers. We should

openly admit that we are above the national average, but that we will not be satisfied with being second best. We should establish more pride in our accomplishments and develop a new spirit toward our goals.

When the educators take this attitude instead of criticising elected officials they will find that they will be supported not only by legislators as in the past, but by the general public as well.

An outstanding public school system can only be obtained when educators, legislators and the public are operating as a team. Without hesitation, I can openly say that your legislators are willing and ready to be a part of that team effort.

*Rebuttal by Prof. Callahan:*

REPRESENTATIVE Gralike quotes me as saying that "the power to decide what amount of money we will spend on education should be taken out of the hands of the voters." That was only one-half of my sentence. The other half was "and put into the hands of the elected representatives where it belongs." The point is that when we elect men to office we should give them the power to legislate, and this power should include the power to raise revenue. As things stand now in education, we keep throwing the responsibility back on the voters.

Second, I did not mean to imply in my article that there were not some men who have worked very hard for education in this state. If it were not for these men, Missouri would be worse off than she is in public education. But that does not change the overall picture which is one of backwardness, especially in vocational education.

Third, I think that Missouri's record cannot be defended by pointing out that we have a few wealthy districts in St. Louis County and that St. Louis County spends 10 per cent above the national average for education.

Fourth, I am happy that Missouri has established Junior Colleges and that they receive \$200 per pupil from the state. However, this amount goes only to full-time students, and, thus, for example, the state does not contribute anything to the cost of educating half of the 5000 students in the Kansas City Junior College who attend only part time.

I hope that Representative Gralike keeps up his efforts in behalf of public education. But I do not envy him the task of defending Missouri's record.

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## The Kites / *Constance Urdang*

It is March. They are flying  
Kites from the library roof:  
A red child with a green and yellow tail  
And a blue child with a tail of yellow and red  
Pass swiftly by my window, sailing up  
The air. Sail quickly past  
My window, climbing the air.

They are flying!  
Brothers and sisters, friends and cousins, bounding  
Up the windy steps of March, on the roof  
Of the sky. They are kites! They are  
Specks of confetti, tied  
To other specks below on the library roof—  
Which is flying too. Majestic and aloof  
As the earth itself, it wheels, dips, somersaults—  
And we inside

Windows are flying, too—  
And birds, beasts, brothers,  
Friends, others, all,  
With trees, rocks, rivers and mountains,  
Railroad trains, automobiles, apartment houses,  
Aloft! With sputniks and the stars in their courses.

## Bedtime Stories / *Lewis Turco*

This child who toys in the corner with  
the heart out of my body, this child,  
daydreamer, vagrant in time, momentary  
belief wound on a spindle of impermanent bone—  
what shall I say of her? She is my name  
spoken in a high wind, as mine  
was another's and another's: a pyramid  
of names, a paper cone of sighs  
no sooner uttered than forgotten.

I wonder, will she wonder who  
her father was? And who is she?  
She says her mother's runes with lips  
soft as the enemone of that torrid ocean whose bed lay  
cooling in our prairies. Her night murmurs,  
harps of sage, the wind crying  
in the window, tongues of hooved creatures  
whose silhouettes run across  
the moon's mask — all waver  
like polyps and kelp in a sea  
behind my eyes. Her toys dangle  
and drown in a boat of mirrors  
under darkness flowing out of corners,  
drawers: a tide which coils, luminous  
with ambiguities winking and disappearing,  
as day wanes and the night wears on and on.

*Constance Urdang has had her poetry published in most of the leading literary quarterlies. October House has recently published a book of her poetry, "Charades and Celebrations."*

*Lewis Turco is a resident of Oswego, New York. This is his first appearance in FOCUS/Midwest.*

Volume IV, Numbers 7 and 8

## Seven Poems / *James Purdy*

Many a silk spider  
Will drop a gossamer ladder  
Before the harvest moon  
In hot July or June

White possum by the fire,  
Of love do not inquire,  
White possum by the fire,  
Innocence is love's desire.

Kingly presence and queenly abandon,  
I might tonight but never at random.

Come down from the parapet, haughty girl,  
And lift your skirts to the day,  
We know the signs of wanton joy,  
We know the mark of foul play.

He's such a nasty boy, who was a lovely prince,  
His whiskers scratch & burn now  
Where once he was satin and rich.

The mill is dark tonight & nobody goes  
To look at the lady bug who lived with the rose.

Pussy willow, pussy won't.  
How'd you know I knew you don't?  
© James Purdy

## Fish / *Paul Elvard (1895-1952)*

*Translated by D. M. Pettinella*

The fiish, the bathers, the boats  
Transform the water.  
Water is gentle and motionless  
Unless it is touched.

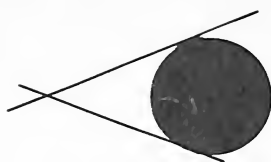
The fish moves forward  
Like a finger in a glove.  
The swimmer dances slowly  
And the sail expands.

But gentle water moves  
For what touches it,  
For the fish, the swimmer, the boat  
That it brings  
And carries away.

*Seven poems are from a work in progress by Mr. Purdy which now bears the tentative title: Poems for Children Away from Home. It will eventually be published by Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.*

*Paul Elvard is a French poet. Dora M. Pettinella translates from the Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and French. Her work has appeared in Transatlantic, Hudson, Chicago Choice, Minnesota Review, Nation, etc.*

Page Thirty-three



## BOOKS IN FOCUS

Paul Schlueter

ALTHOUGH few of the books covered in this omnibus review are explicitly Midwestern, either in subject matter or importance, all are significant recent volumes and several are by individuals whose names will be familiar to many readers of FOCUS/Midwest.

### Petrakis

And even though some of the non-fiction to be discussed in this review is of far more than passing interest, we will begin with some fictional works, the first of which is the much-praised *Pericles on 31st St.* (Quadrangle Books, \$4.50, 213 pp.) by Harry Mark Petrakis, a contributing editor of FOCUS/Midwest. A collection of 16 stories concerning Greek-Americans noted for their vigorous, joyful, and exuberant attitudes toward life, this book received a justly enthusiastic accolade, in a sense, in its original appearance as separate stories in the *Atlantic* and other magazines. As isolated stories in such periodicals, these 16 seemed remarkably fresh, alive, and without the cynicism characterizing so much contemporary literature. These qualities are still present, although it must be admitted that a reading of all 16 at one setting strikes one as somewhat repetitious, both in situation and in characterization, and frequently with more than a touch of sentimentality. Nonetheless, Petrakis is a gifted and evidently natural storyteller, and need feel nothing but pride at an accomplishment like *Pericles on 31st St.* (Incidentally, in its original appearance, the title story was set on 34th St., but no explanation of the 3-block shift is provided in the book.)

### Grass and Böll

Two superlative novels by contemporary German writers are among the best fiction of the past months. Gunter Grass' *Dog Years* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, \$6.95, 570 pp.) is the highly complex tale of two friends — one Jew, one Gentile — in the years before, during, and after the Nazi regime, in which several

generations of dogs — including Hitler's Prinz — parallel the events in the lives of the two men. Reminiscent of Joyce, Mann, Dante, and Kafka — among others — this book is one of the most strikingly original, densely symbolic works of our time. Heinrich Böll's *The Clown* (McGraw-Hill, \$5.00, 248 pp.) is also about Germany's guilt, but is concerned more with the facade of hypocrisy and religiosity involved in human relationships than with Nazi matters; his hero, a clown, finds, like Job, his friends and success diminishing rapidly, but, unlike Job, he finds no peace. Although both books are technically difficult and demanding, the reasons are somewhat different: Grass' novel depends upon structure and symbol, while Böll's depends upon interior monologue.

### Palazzeschi and Mackiewicz

Two other novels from Europe are of more than routine interest. *Roma*, by Aldo Palazzeschi (Regnery, \$4.50, 216 pp.), is a human-interest story not unlike Petrakis' works, and has somewhat the same touch of homely humor and somewhat old-fashioned



Harry Mark Petrakis

technique. Few of the author's works are available in English; and this, a narrative of wild but evidently realistic characters in present-day Rome, cannot help but enhance his already-wide reputation. *Road to Nowhere*, by Jozef Mackiewicz (Regnery, \$4.50, 382 pp.), is set in Lithuania in the early 1940's, and concerns people of several social classes who find adjustment to Soviet encroachment demanding difficult personal decisions. Some decide to conform, some resist, and some merely drift along; but all find it necessary to decide their true motives for survival. Evidently deeply-felt, and, according to a foreword, authentically re-created from actual events, this book is less a novel than a polemic concerning national and individual freedom, and if it sometimes seems more a tract than a skillfully-wrought work of fiction, it remains nonethe-

less an impressive book for the dedication and depth of commitment reflected in the characters.

### Rovit

One American and two English authors complete the roster of novels. Earl Rovit's *The Player King* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, \$5.95, 368 pp.) is a multi-level, highly ingenious narrative with, among other gimmicks, a person named Earl Rovit who discusses the novel — presumably this one — he is writing and who actually criticizes the book, both in a pseudo-*Paris Review* interview and in competent burlesques of contemporary literary criticism. A highly original book, and frequently learned and farcical simultaneously, this book demands, as with the German novels already discussed, the reader's full attention. If it sometimes is less than successful in appearing to be a work of fiction, it is still great fun to read.

### Shaw

Robert Shaw's *The Flag* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, \$4.95, 291 pp.) concerns a Christian Communist in 1925 in England, who eagerly but a bit foolishly tries to convert members of his parish (he is a vicar) to his faith. With as wild a collection of grotesque characters as Dickens ever conceived of, and with definite overtones of other writers from Hardy to Joyce Cary, this book is rich and entertaining reading.

### Toms

Bernard Toms' *George Arbuthnot Jarrett* (Harcourt, Brace, and World, \$4.75, 268 pp.) is a character-study-in-depth of a man with violent contrasts of conviction — religious, sexual, etc., — but the book seems unnecessarily involved in plot.

### Columbia U. Series

The excellent series of critical pamphlets on modern writers published by Columbia University Press at \$.65 each (the first titles of which were reviewed in FOCUS/Midwest by Harry T. Moore in Vol. III, No. 8 and 9) continues to include terse but by no means skimpy treatments of English and continental writers. The latest four include one by Moore

Paul Schlueter is an English instructor at Southern Illinois University. His reviews have appeared in Christian Century, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Sun-Times, and other periodicals. His essays have appeared in Motive and in "Contemporary American Novelists."



himself: *E. M. Forster*. Others are on Michel Butor, Eugene Ionesco, and C. P. Snow (48 pp. each).

#### Green

The "two cultures" harangue shared, most recently, by C. P. Snow and F. R. Leavis, continues to draw adherents from one side or another; nobody seems to be neutral. Martin Green, an Englishman teaching in the United States, is on Snow's side, and in *Science and the Shabby Curate of Poetry* (Norton, \$5.00, 159 pp.) he gives detailed reasons why. More than merely an apologia for the humanities, though, this book is a kind of autobiography in that Green tells how and why he attempted, after first encountering the debate, to correct his own dearth of scientific knowledge. Both cultures are thus re-evaluated once again, and, despite the convincing qualities of Green's "new humanism," one feels that still more volleys from both sides are likely to appear at regular intervals.

#### Marty

Only brief statements can be made in the space left for some of the more striking non-fiction (and, indeed, non-literary) books recently published. Martin E. Marty, associate editor of the *Christian Century* and a FOCUS/Midwest editorial advisor, provides in *Varieties of Unbelief* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, \$5.00, 232 pp.) not merely another list of heresies but, instead, a searching analysis of "unbelief," whether called atheism, existentialism, Marxism, nihilism, or whatever. In all cases, man attempts to force God into man's own image, and to operate on man's terms, and this, for Marty, is unbelief. Even religious belief itself can thus be a form of unbelief; rather than consider these as polar opposites, Marty sees these as two points on a continuum, with gradations always possible. An



Martin E. Marty

important book, and one free of jargon and empty piety, *Varieties of Unbelief* is one of Marty's more valuable contributions to current religious thought.

#### Garretson

Robert C. Garretson, brewing executive (Carling Brewing Co.), compares economic trends in this country and Russia for the past few decades, and attempts to predict likely patterns in the next few as well, in *The Abundant Peace* (World, \$5.95, 255 pp.). A long-time student of, and one-time worker in, Soviet Russia, Garretson concludes, as have others recently, that the U.S.S.R. is moving toward a "market" (i.e., capitalist) society, and the U.S. toward a "managed" society. As a plea for greater rapport between the two nations, for economic if not ethical reasons, this book is very convincing.

#### Collier and Glaser

*Western Integration and the Future of Eastern Europe*, ed. by David S. Collier and Kurt Glaser (Regnery, \$6.00, 207 pp.), is the ninth in a series called "Foundation for Foreign Affairs," and is, like its predecessors, a searching analysis of a specific issue in international relations. A number of American and European scholars contribute essays on the Common Market and other issues affecting the "integration" mentioned in the title. (Editor Glaser, incidentally, is professor of government at Southern Illinois University.)

#### Stevens

*The United States and the Middle East*, ed. by Georgiana G. Stevens (Prentice-Hall, \$3.95, 182 pp.), is also part of a series and also contains several essays by various specialists in the Middle East. The pressures of modernization are particularly emphasized.

#### Nieburg

*Nuclear Secrecy and Foreign Policy*, by Harold L. Nieburg (Public Affairs Press, \$6.00, 255 pp.), is a thoroughly-documented and eminently important discussion of one of our time's most difficult and unwieldy topics. Quite obviously, Nieburg points out, such efforts for secrecy have failed, as indeed they are doomed to, given the nature of today's nuclear community. Hans J. Morgenthau, in a brilliant introduction, points out that nuclear "laissez faire and . . . monopoly" is untenable and that certain of Nieburg's proposals (too involved to mention here) must be given a wide circulation. Not merely a technological

treatise, this book is fully aware of both political and scientific issues involved.

#### Appleman

*The Silent Explosion*, by Phillip Appleman (Beacon Press, \$4.95, 161 pp.), is also concerned with a pressing international issue: population. An eloquent plea for population control (seconded by Julian Huxley in his foreword), this book is especially aware of the moral relevance of the problem, not merely economic, political, sexual, or national. Unhesitatingly pointing out how both Communists and Roman Catholics have aggravated the problem, Appleman concludes his book with a number of unarguable suggestions.

## Who Copied?

*continued from page 30*

well. If earlier works have not been pirated, then the authors should have given their sources of information. None did, not even John A. Stormer although his book has more than eight hundred footnotes.

W. Cleon Skousen in his book *The Naked Communist*, published in 1958, writes (page 131):

The conquest of the United States by Marxist forces has been an important part of the plan of Communist leaders for many years: *First we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia. Then we will encircle the United States of America which will be the last bastion of Capitalism. We will not have to attack it; it will fall like an over-ripe fruit into our hands.* This clearly reflects the Marxist threat to overthrow the United States by internal subversion. (Emphasis added.)

The *Blue Book of the John Birch Society* was published in 1961 but the author, Robert Welch, states that it is based on lectures prepared in October and November of 1958 and delivered in December of that year. This book (page 10) contains the following statement:

Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic, and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows: *First, we will take Eastern Europe. Next, the masses of*



Asia. Then we shall encircle the last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands. . . . (Emphasis added.)

*None Dare Call It Treason* by John A. Stormer was first published in early 1964. The text on page 26 reads:

After only seven years at the head of the world's first communist state, Lenin died in 1924. Before he died, he formulated a plan for world domination. Summarized and paraphrased, Lenin's plan stated:

*'First, we will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States which will be the last bastion (sic.) of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands.'* (Emphasis added.)

While *Fabians Fight Freedom* by H. L. Hunt has no copyright date, the text shows that the manuscript was not completed until the fall of 1964. Hunt gives no reference or citation, but purports to quote (page 16) Lenin directly:

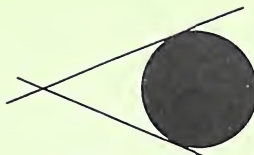
One of the most amazing political predictions in all history was made more than forty years ago by the man who has probably the best claim to be the evil genius of the twentieth century; Russia's Nikolai Lenin. . . . This prediction was also the grand strategic plan of the communists. Lenin said:

*'First we will taken eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands.'* (Emphasis added.)

Since there is persuasive evidence that Hunt copies from Stormer in other instances (see my article, *FOCUS/Midwest*, Vol. III, No. 8/9, p. 24), it is highly probable that he also did so in this case.

It is more than doubtful that the purported quotation is authentic. Even if we ignore this for present purposes, all four authors are guilty of inexcusable offenses against sound scholarly standards.

Without reference to each other or any other source, the authors fail to indicate whether they are quoting or paraphrasing or inventing. The quality of their works is an insult to the reader.



## Political Intelligence

### From Illinois

The following Illinoisans contributed \$10,000 or more to political committees or candidates in the 1964 elections, based on reports filed with the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate in Washington. (None were listed from Missouri.)

**To the Democratic Party:** Marshal Field, \$10,000; Ben Heineman, \$10,000; Frederick W. Spiegel, \$30,000; J. Spiegel, \$15,000, and Modie J. Spiegel, \$9,500 and \$500 to the Republican Party. **To the Republican Party:** R. W. Galvin, \$25,000; R. McCormick, \$11,000; John M. Olin, \$31,000; Spencer T. Olin, \$11,900; W. L. Rutherford, \$10,000; Robert E. Wood, \$10,500 and \$1,545 to other parties.

The race between Illinois' Senator Paul H. Douglas (D.), and the attractive Chicago industrialist, Charles H. Percy, may well become the key Senate battle of the LBJ midterm campaign. Percy ran an exceptionally strong race for Governor in 1964 and might well have been elected had it not been for the Goldwater millstone. Douglas may become the first four-term senator in more than 50 years. Illinois had only one four-term senator, Shelly Moore Cullom who served from 1883 to 1913, five full six-year terms. Cullom, a Springfield Republican, is the father of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Adlai Stevenson III has tried his best to squelch any suggestion that he run for state treasurer. He sees his talents as lying in the legislative field and wants to return to Springfield next session. This gives Chicago Committeeman George Dunne headaches, since Stevenson is in the same district as other "eligibles." Stevenson might be interested in an appointment as U.S. Attorney should Ward Hanrahan, the present Attorney, decide to run for Sheriff of Cook County.

Fred Hubbard, former director of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago Detached Workers program, announced his candidacy for the First Congressional District, now held by William Dawson. Hubbard is supported publicly by Dick Gregory; and, privately, it has been claimed, by Arnold Maremont.

The powers at the U. of Ch. have finally gotten their wish: the City of Chicago has taken away the urban renewal development program from

the Kenwood Town Homes and young architect Louis Rocha, who refused to play ball and put in higher priced housing which would have brought in more money and acted as a "buffer" to the crowded West Side area. The assignment was withdrawn on the charge that the plans for development were not in accordance with the Chicago code and had not been amended for the past year. The Kenwood Town Homes, however, were informed of the alleged errors just one day before the withdrawal. Oddly enough, there is talk that the new developer will be the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, whom one would have expected to be more sympathetic to the original plan. While officially new bids have not yet been requested the ACW has already asked an eastern architect to draw up plans. Under the new submission rules, these plans will provide no more than 20 per cent middle-class income housing.

### From Missouri

Several years ago, then Congressman A. S. J. Carnahan of South Central Missouri was defeated in the Democratic primary by then Missouri House Speaker Richard H. Ichord, now a member of the House un-American Activities Committee. Unless Ichord keeps his political fences mended, the son of the former congressman, Mel Carnahan, who is now the Majority Floor Leader in Jefferson City, might seek his seat in Congress.

St. Louis County Republicans will exploit to the hilt County Prosecutor's Daniel V. O'Brien's role in representing the Presidential Investment Co., involved in an alleged conspiracy to bribe top state officials. O'Brien represented Presidential before public agencies. At this writing, O'Brien will seek reelection. This affair adds suspense to the race of County Supervisor, still more or less actively sought by five Democrats. The Democratic nominee will ultimately oppose Supervisor Lawrence Roos, a Republican. Gleefully, the conservative *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* plans to keep the pot boiling by releasing more information as the elections approach. So far, it is suspected, only a part of the available information has been published.

Chas. K. Berger      Lester Seasingood

### COMMERCIAL INSURORS

1015 Locust      GA 1-5047      Saint Louis

COUNSEL—PROTECTION—SERVICE